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**The Creative City in the ASEAN context:
the cultural policy of the Southeast
Asian Creative Cities Network**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Creative Industries

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Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS	1
LIST OF TABLES	5
LIST OF FIGURES	6
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	8
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	11
DECLARATION	12
ABSTRACT	13
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	14
1.1 Research Background	14
1.2 Research Field	18
1.3 Theoretical Framework	23
1.4 Thesis Rationale and Aims	28
1.5 Objectives and Methodology	29
1.6 Thesis Structure	41
1.7 The Research Questions and Central Argument	42
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	44
2.1 The Dimensions of Creative City Policy in Asia	44
2.2 Creative City Discourse	50
2.2.1 Landry's A Toolkit for Urban Innovators	52
2.2.2 The Rise of the 'Creative Class'	57
2.2.3 The Embryonic Creative Economy and How People Make Money from Ideas	63
2.3 The Strategic Lexicon of the Creative City as Cultural Policy	66
2.3.1 Creative and Cultural Industries	68
2.3.2 Urban Place-making	69
2.3.3 Culture-led Regeneration	71
2.3.4 Global City	74
2.3.5 City Brand	75

2.3.6 Creative Clusters	77
2.3.7 Creative Networks and the Networked City	79
Conclusion	79
CHAPTER 3 THE ASEAN POLICY CONTEXT	81
3.1 The Constitution of ASEAN	81
3.2 The ASEAN Creative City Network	87
3.3 Major Examples of Creative City Policies across Asia	89
3.4 The Economic Conditions of Southeast Asian Cities	92
3.4.1 Background	92
3.4.2 The Question of Urban-Economic Development	101
3.4.3 The Question of Neoliberalism	103
3.4.4 Southeast Asia as Contemporary Site of Creative City Policy Development	106
3.4.5 The Four Cases: The Approach	107
CHAPTER 4 PRINCIPLE CASE STUDY: CHIANG MAI (THAILAND)	109
4.1 Thailand and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea	110
4.2 Chiang Mai's Urban Economy	113
4.3 Chiang Mai's Creative City Policy Development	118
4.4 Creative Chiang Mai and Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative (UNESCO Creative Cities Network)	124
4.5 Chiang Mai's Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation	128
4.6 Chiang Mai and Neoliberalism	139
Conclusion	142
CHAPTER 5 CASE STUDY 1: BANDUNG (INDONESIA)	144
5.1 Indonesia and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea	144
5.2 Bandung's Urban Economy	150
5.3 Bandung's Creative City Policy Development	156
5.3.1 Bandung's Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation	165
5.4 Bandung and Neoliberalism	171

Conclusion	175
CHAPTER 6 CASE STUDY 2: CEBU (PHILIPPINES)	177
6.1 The Philippines and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea	177
6.2 Cebu's Urban Economy	190
6.3 Cebu's Creative City Policy Development	193
6.3.1 Cebu's Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation	195
6.4 Cebu and Neoliberalism	204
Conclusion	210
CHAPTER 7 CASE STUDY 3: GEORGE TOWN (MALAYSIA)	212
7.1 Malaysia's Country Background and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea	213
7.2 George Town's Urban Economy	216
7.3 George Town's Creative City Policy Development	228
7.3.1 George Town Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation	238
7.4 George Town and Neoliberalism	242
Conclusion	250
CHAPTER 8 ANALYSIS	252
8.1 Chiang Mai and 'Participation'	254
8.1.1 Participation and the Creative City	256
8.1.2 Participation in Chiang Mai Creative City	258
8.1.3 Governance and Policy Implementation	259
8.1.4 Neoliberalism in Chiang Mai	263
8.2 Bandung and 'City Re-representation'	266
8.2.1 City Re-representation and the Creative City	268
8.2.2 City Re-representation in Bandung	270
8.2.3 What Happened in Bandung?	272
8.2.4 Neoliberalism in Bandung	274
8.3 Cebu and 'Interlocal Policy Transfer'	277
8.3.1 Interlocal Policy Transfer and the Creative City	277
8.3.2 Theoretical Discussion	280

8.3.3 Interlocal Policy Transfer in Cebu	283
8.3.4 Neoliberalism in Cebu	286
8.4 George Town and ‘Social Inclusion’	289
8.4.1 Gentrification and the Creative City	289
8.4.2 Theoretical Discussion	292
8.4.3 George Town’s Urban Reality	295
8.4.4 Neoliberalism in George Town	298
Conclusion	301
CONCLUSION	302
BIBLIOGRAPHY	308

List of Tables

Table 1.1: <i>Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present</i>	35
Table 1.2: <i>Creative city policy</i>	35-36
Table 1.3: <i>Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation</i>	37-40
Table 4.1: <i>Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present</i>	128
Table 4.2: <i>Creative city policy</i>	129
Table 4.3: <i>The analysis of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art's projects using policy modes</i>	130-132
Table 4.4: <i>The analysis of Creative Chiang Mai's projects using policy modes</i>	134-137
Table 4.5: <i>Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation</i>	140-141
Table 5.1: <i>Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present</i>	166
Table 5.2: <i>Creative city policy</i>	166-167
Table 5.3: <i>The analysis of Bandung's projects using policy modes</i>	167-169
Table 5.4: <i>Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation</i>	172
Table 6.1: <i>The analysis of Cebu's projects using policy modes</i>	195-202
Table 6.2: <i>Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation</i>	205-206
Table 7.1: <i>Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present</i>	238
Table 7.2: <i>Creative city policy</i>	238-239
Table 7.3: <i>The analysis of George Town's projects using policy modes</i>	239-241
Table 7.4: <i>Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation</i>	245-246

List of Figures

Figure 3.1: <i>Colonial empires in Asia before the outbreak of WWII</i>	92
Figure 4.1: <i>An example of hand-on activities by Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art</i>	120
Figure 4.2: <i>TCDC Chiang Mai</i>	121
Figure 4.3: <i>Chiang Mai Historical City and Doi Suthep</i>	122
Figure 4.4: <i>An example of a collaborated event held by the British Council at the Chiang Mai Design Week 2017</i>	123
Figure 4.5: <i>Activities of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art in terms of policy modes</i>	132
Figure 4.6: <i>Activities of Creative Chiang Mai in terms of policy modes</i>	137
Figure 5.1: <i>Map of Java Island</i>	150
Figure 5.2: <i>Map of Bandung</i>	151
Figure 5.3: <i>Bandung's creative industries sectors</i>	154
Figure 5.4: <i>Bandung's potentials</i>	157
Figure 5.5: <i>BCCF's '3C'</i>	159
Figure 5.6: <i>The new Bandung Creative Centre opened in 2017</i>	160
Figure 5.7: <i>Logo of Kampung Kreatif</i>	162
Figure 5.8: <i>Kampung Kreatif Roadmap</i>	162
Figure 5.9: <i>Design Action logo</i>	164
Figure 5.10: <i>BCCF's projects roadmap</i>	165
Figure 5.11: <i>Bandung's policy modes</i>	170
Figure 6.1: <i>Map of the Philippines</i>	178
Figure 6.2: <i>SWOT analysis of the Philippines' creative industries</i>	187
Figure 6.3: <i>Map of Cebu</i>	190
Figure 6.4: <i>Cebu's creative activities divided by policy modes</i>	202
Figure 7.1: <i>Map of Penang</i>	217
Figure 7.2: <i>Industrialisation in Penang, 1960-2010</i>	220
Figure 7.3: <i>Approved manufacturing projects in Penang</i>	221
Figure 7.4: <i>Government regulations affect Penang firms more</i>	221

Figure 7.5: <i>Mean monthly wages in Penang's urban and rural areas</i>	224
Figure 7.6: <i>Greater Penang: composition of workers</i>	224
Figure 7.7: <i>Think City's logo</i>	231
Figure 7.8: <i>Six guiding principles</i>	232
Figure 7.9: <i>Think City's four phases of development</i>	232
Figure 7.10: <i>George Town Grants Programme statistics</i>	234
Figure 7.11: <i>The George Town Action Plan</i>	235
Figure 7.12: <i>Chew Jetty, George Town, Penang</i>	236
Figure 7.13: <i>Waterfront area at Chew Jetty</i>	236
Figure 7.14: <i>George Town Festival's posters</i>	237
Figure 7.15: <i>George Town's creative projects chart</i>	242
Figure 7.16: <i>Selling of an old shophouse in George Town city centre</i>	248
Figure 7.17: <i>Shophouses in George Town</i>	248
Figure 7.18: <i>Shophouses in George Town</i>	249

List of Abbreviations

ACP	Animation Council of the Philippines
ACS	Asian Culture Station
AKTC	Aga Khan Trust for Culture
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APTA	Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASA	Association for Southeast Asia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BCCF	Bandung Creative City Forum
BCH	Bandung Creative Hub
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BOI	Board of Investment (Philippines)
CAC	Chiang Mai Art Conversation
CAT	Creative Animation Triggers
CCP	Cultural Centre of the Philippines
CDA	Chiang Mai Design Awards
CECP	Creative Economy Council of the Philippines
CEN	Creative Entrepreneur Network (Bandung)
CHED	Commission on Higher Education (Philippines)
CIEL	Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Leadership (Bandung)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMU STeP	Chiang Mai University Science and Technology Park
CTI	Creative Town Initiative
DAC	Design Advisory Council (Philippines)
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport (UK)
DCP	Design Centre of the Philippines
DepED	Department of Education (Philippines)
DIP	Department of Intellectual Property (Thailand)
DOF	Department of Finance (Philippines)

DOST	Department of Science and Technology (Philippines)
DOT	Department of Tourism (Philippines)
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry (Philippines)
ECCP	European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines
ECOC	European Capital of Culture
EDSA	Epifanio De los Santos Avenue
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTZ	Free Trade Zone
GDAP	Game Developers Association of the Philippines
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
GMS	Greater Mekong Subregion
GPP	Gross Primary Production
GTAP	George Town Action Plan
GTF	George Town Festival
GTGP	George Town Grants Programme
GTTP	George Town Transformation Programme
HPAEs	High Performing Asian Economies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IPOPHIL	Intellectual Property Office Philippines
IYCE	Indonesia Young Creative Entrepreneur
KWF	Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIDA	Malaysian Industrial Authority
MM2H	Malaysia My Second Home
MNCs	Multi-National Companies
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSC	Multimedia Super Corridor (Malaysia)
MTCE	Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Indonesia)
NCCA	National Commission for Culture and the Arts (Philippines)
NCER	Northern Corridor Economic Region
NEDA	National Economic and Development Authority (Philippines)

NESDB	Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (Thailand)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIA	National Innovation Agency (Thailand)
NIEs	Newly Industrialised Economies
NOHMEX	Northern Handicrafts Manufacturers and Exporters Association
NSO	National Statistics Office (Philippines)
OKMD	Office of Knowledge Management and Development (Thailand)
PARI	Philippine Association of the Record Industry
PCC	Penang Cybercity
PPP	Public-Private Partnership Centre
PSDC	Penang Skills Development Centre
PTTC	Philippine Trade and Training Centre
SAR	Special Administrative Region (Shanghai)
SEACCN	Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network
SEZs	Special Economic Zones
SIPA	Software Industry Promotion Agency (Thailand)
SMG	Seoul Metropolitan Government
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (in Southeast Asia)
TCDC	Thailand Creative and Design Centre
TCEA	Thailand Creative Economy Agency
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UPPs	Urban Pilot Projects
4As	Association of Accredited Advertising Agencies Philippines

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis submitted in support for the application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis explores the various dimensions of the Creative City policy trend, which has been adopted by cities around the world. Originating in Europe after the social and economic transformation of the 1980s — deindustrialisation and reindustrialisation — the Creative City discourse was initially designed to respond to the social dimensions of macro-economic decline as registered in cities. Creativity was cast a force for the productive transformation and reinvigoration of all components of a city, from metropolitan government and its policymakers to planners and architects, to communities and citizens. It was a vision of economic development as democratisation. However, in this era of globalisation, the Creative City policy notion is all too often deployed as a means of prioritising a narrower conception of economic value — such as exports and property value. This thesis, therefore, investigates the uses of the Creative City policy notion in the developing countries of Southeast Asia, as exemplified in four selected case studies from the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network — Chiang Mai (Thailand), Bandung (Indonesia), Cebu (Philippines), and George Town (Malaysia). Through the design of the study, literature review, empirical investigations (case study-based), and critical social analysis, in which a central tenet of contemporary urban cultural policy studies is tested: Creative City has become a veritable ‘Trojan horse’ of neoliberal economic values. This commonplace argument is tested through case studies and an extended critical analysis using influential criteria for the identification of urban neoliberalism. This involves an assessment of how the Creative City in ASEAN countries is not synonymous with the democratisation of the city but with new conditions of economic development that inhibit the evolution of participation, representation, policy deliberation, and social inclusion. The thesis concluded by arguing that Creative City discourse in the Southeast Asian region has indeed become a mediator of neoliberalism in Asian cities, but this in itself has little explanatory scope. Asian urban neoliberalism is complex, involving historically distinct economic conditions and demanding a case study approach in comprehending this complexity.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research Background

The subject of this thesis is the Creative City, both in theory and in policy practice, and involves an examination of a widespread scholarly view that the Creative City model today facilitates the dissemination and legitimisation of economic 'neoliberalism' (Mould, 2015; Pratt, 2009a; Hutton, 2008; Peck, 2004; and so on). This thesis argues that the Creative City is indeed bound up with 'neoliberalism', but the body of the thesis serves to reveal the complexity of this assertion. Indeed, the Creative City policy discourse has been one of the most influential cultural policy discourses to become similarly widely discussed by scholars and policymakers alike (Peck, 2005; Glaesar, 2005). The Australian David Yencken is attributed with first using the term in 1988 (in his article "The Creative City"); however, this thesis will be principally concerned with the notion as promulgated throughout Asia by Charles Landry.

As a result of their extended policy research and consultancy throughout Europe, and in part influenced by European traditions of cultural planning, Landry and his colleagues began by addressing the social and economic transitions initially set in motion by the post-industrial conditions later explicated by Thomas Hutton in his 2008 book *The New Economy of the Inner City*. In this book is embedded a narrative now pervasive, that the 1970s in Europe (and the US in parts) were losing their industrial skills-base as heavy industry and manufacturing were moving to Asia. This provoked an economic crisis and need for 're-industrialisation' visible in old factory buildings and port harbours increasingly left vacant in once-great industrial cities (Cf. Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). Landry and Bianchini's 1995 publication for the London-based think tank DEMOS, and called of *The Creative City*, proposed that structurally the economy was shifting from an industry-based to knowledge-based system of production, and

'creativity' must be considered as a force to invigorate otherwise categorically separate areas of industrial and manufacturing innovation, new enterprise and market-driven business, and urban planning. Echoing the older, more integrated, vision of the Victorian industrial city, Landry and Bianchini proposed to integrate the urgent and necessary requirements of economic development in a place-based, urban-centred, way.

Memorably, Landry and Bianchini (1995) argued that 'creativity' has always been internal to the economy of cities: historically, Europe's successful cities always demanded creativity to work as their markets, trading and production centres inspired a diversity of citizens and visitors to interact, compete, and so generate new ideas (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). By extension, the contemporary economic dilemma of the post-industrial city requires "creative, interdisciplinary, holistic thinking – qualities that depend on subtle, supportive city milieux to promote them" (Landry and Bianchini, 1995, p.12). Landry and Bianchini, both of whom maintained deep European reference points, could not have but been influenced by the European Union's new cultural scheme the 'European Capital of Culture' (established in 1985 by Melina Mercouri, Greece's Minister of Culture, and her French counterpart Jack Lang). Moreover, both promulgated a broader role for culture as a central nexus of public policies, which reflected European traditions of urban planning and not specifically indigenous to Great Britain.

From there, the Creative City policy concept became both a diagnostic tool for local (or city-based) economic development and a policy ideal that enfranchised a new generation of thinkers in the arts, cultural and creative industries. Given the already rich field of Urbanism and Town Planning scholarship — which had emerged since the Chicago School of sociologists in the 1930s had identified the modern city as the new site for future industrial as well as social change — Landry and Bianchini were addressing a dense heritage of thought and policy

ideas, European and American. Accounting for this dense heritage is beyond the scope of this introduction, but includes the huge expanse of urban thought and architectural practice in the USA since the 1930s (Cf. activist Jane Jacobs' 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*), the great acts of British post-war planning (Cf. the Greater London Plan of 1944 developed by Patrick Abercrombie), and later European innovations such as the Council of Europe's European Campaign for Urban Renaissance (1980 to 1982) and the resulting European Urban Charter of 1992.

This thesis, however, is concerned with the contemporary Asian adaptation of the Creative City policy concept, and it must be emphasised at the outset that in Asia the intellectual heritage of urban thought and city-based cultural theory was not in itself influential (if at all). As a powerful policy notion, the Creative City, rather, was immediately framed by two cognate notions — the 'creative industries' and the 'creative class'. The creative industries, while obviously pertaining to the fast-evolving and rapid commercialisation of design, communications and entertainment-based industries, was expanded to dovetail with popular economic theories on the new technological 'knowledge-based' industries of advanced countries (empowering them with competitive advantage in new markets of global scale); and the 'creative class' notion was effectively a theory of industrial labour (identifying the actors and agents of this new economic development, and the conditions by which they grew). The 'creative class' thesis, was a so-called 'New Economic Growth' theory proposed by Florida most famously in his New York Times bestseller, *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002. Florida, using economic performance data set against social indicators and unique features of economically evolving urban environments, boldly proposed that the new creative class of workers has become the economic driving-force for post-industrial cities. As a social class, it is not homogenous, but includes a 'super-creative core' of creative professionals (those who "draw on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems": Florida, 2002, p.69)

as well as lesser expert software testers, teachers and education providers. Since 2002, Florida's evolving theories have implicated urban development and city or municipal planning to such an extent, Florida is now widely identified as an urban theorist but not as an economist.

The launch of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in 2004 was one of the many mechanisms by which the Creative City policy notion was disseminated, and disseminated in such a way as to present the Creative City as a framework in which a creative class propelled new economic growth with creative industries, to the benefit of national economy. Since the year 2000, the term 'creative' had been used in economic growth policies in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Seoul, Osaka (Keane, 2009; Kong and O'Connor, 2009; Leo and Lee, 2004; Lee and Lim, 2014; Sasaki, 2010; Yeoh, 2005; Yusuf and Nabeshima, 2009). This involves not only the principal cities of economic development, but also secondary cities, where, for example, in Southeast Asia, small heritage-based cities have adopted and adapted a new creative development framework. Indeed, both large and smaller cities are both included as members in the 'the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network' (SEACCN), four-member cities of which are featured in the case studies of this thesis. This network was established in 2014 by four founding members — which are Chiang Mai (Thailand), Bandung (Indonesia), Cebu (Philippines), and George Town (Malaysia) — and were involved in a number of annual gatherings and policy deliberations, for example, the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Forum (which ceased in 2016).

At the outset of this thesis, it must be indicated that the Creative City policy discourse is broad and heterogeneous and will be defined and assessed only insofar as it is relevant to the objectives of this thesis. There are many debates, significant arguments and questions on all theoretical uses of the term 'creative' (for places, industries and social class) and this thesis cannot broach even a small amount of them. It

must be said, however, that even Landry himself has recognised the evolution of the term, and even its misuse (Landry, 2006b, p.415), observing “The creative city has now become a catch-all phrase in danger of losing its bite and obliterating the reasons why the idea emerged in the first place... The creative city notion is about a journey of becoming, not a fixed state of affairs... The creativity of the creative city is about lateral and horizontal thinking, the capacity to see parts and the whole simultaneously”. Recent urban critic Oli Mould (2015, p.3) has added that the Creative City is “the prosperous utopian idyll” that many cities dream of, that it is that one way to ameliorate urban-based social problems. More substantially, the Creative City has come to signify a policy trend and ‘fast urban policy’ (Peck, 2005) or a ‘Xerox’ approach (Pratt, 2009b) to urban policy, aiming less for material transformation and its concomitant social impact than small-scale economic benefits for private stakeholders (ibid). It is this proposition — that the Creative City has been wrested from its original cultural policy discourse and made to serve economic policy — which motivates this thesis. In Asia, has the Creative City become little more than a ‘Trojan horse’ of contemporary neoliberal economics?

1.2 Research Field

The Creative City as a policy notion can be situated in the cultural policy sub-field of ‘urban cultural policy studies’, whose first major publication was Bianchini and Parkinson’s 1993 edited book, *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*. This landmark text served to explicate the multi-layered implications of the deindustrialisation experienced by European cities in the 1970s, and the policy responses to that complex process of change, notably ‘urban regeneration’ (a term initially popularised in the UK). Before the era of urban regeneration, cultural policies largely served the arts, public events and institutions and heritage; during the 1980s, cultural policy became a feature of urban policy and its many examples are discussed by the book’s contributors convey an understanding of how culture is increasingly incorporated into urban planning and

'regeneration' in the Western European cities. In the book, while post-1968 urban social movements and community radicalisation plays some role in the expansion of cultural policies across Europe, it is the deindustrialisation-reindustrialisation of the 1970s and 1980s that sees the integration of culture as a policy component of urban and social policies: as urban policy the cultural was visible in an explosion in commissions for public art and public space amenities, and in social policy culture became a mechanism for a huge range of objectives from promoting individual and group self-expression and widening access to cultural facilities for all ('cultural democracy' as it was later called), encouraging face-to-face interaction to promote community cohesion, training, and re-functioning the city centre as a catalyst for public sociability (or 'cultural democratisation': Bianchini, 1993).

The use of culture as a policy response to rapid economic change and consequent social restructuring has been critically referred to as using culture as 'a carnival mask' (Harvey, 1989) or concealing the actual social consequences of economic policy (unemployment, growing social inequality, cultural polarisation and conflict within cities, and so on). On the affirmative side, cultural policies during these decades have been phrased in terms of social cohesion or as a 'social glue' that allows the preservation of civic and public culture and shaping of new civic identities (Bianchini, 1993).

As to Asia: in their book *Cultural Policies in East Asia: Dynamics between the State, Arts and Creative Industries* (2014), Lee and Lim define the function of cultural policies in East Asia through three themes. First, cultural identity formation and nation-building; second, negotiations between culture and the state; and third, the rise of creative industries policies. Cultural policies have shifted over time from cultural identity formation towards the agenda of creative industries (Lee and Lim, 2014), an evolution initially influenced by the decolonisation and reconstruction of independent nation-states (historical cultures and identities) of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore,

China, and Japan. A determining moment in the later evolution is the Asian economic crisis in 1997 (Lee and Lim, 2014) where these countries had been the recipient of the 'lost' industrial and manufacturing production of the West were now having to face similar questions of reindustrialisation in the face of technology, fluctuating currencies and global market competition. The potential economic value of culture was in a strong sense interconnected with the theoretical implications of the new policy notions of 'knowledge economy' and 'globalisation'. Since 1997, the rise of 'creativity', industrial innovation and new technologies has been concomitant with the increasing accommodation of Western neoliberal and market-driven economics facilitating the region's cultural policies (Lee and Lim, 2014; Cf. Yeoh, 2005).

During the 1990s, when Southeast Asian economies became increasingly integrated into regional and global circuits of finance, investment and economic agreements, the term 'global' became a key signifier of economic growth for the municipal policies of major cities (Kelly, 1997, p.168). Where since the 1950s Asian economies were increasingly tied to their patterns of urbanisation (where cities were becoming the key centres of economic production and development), a new openness to policy ideas and international trends became visible in the 1990s. Where cultural policies continued to be used for cultivating national identity and promoting national allegiance and pride (Yeoh, 2001, p.458), a new openness to global influences became imperative. Competition between major Southeast Asian cities emerged as each in turn adapted their urban planning and regulatory frameworks to accommodate prominent flagship projects like skyscrapers by major Western architects, waterfront developments (converted harbours), convention centres, festival marketplaces and cultural centres with 'global urban-national visibility', 'state-of-the-art' office complexes and other mixed-use commercial developments (Yeoh, 2005; Bunnell et al., 2002). Many 'Asian mega-projects' such as the Petronas Twin Towers of Kuala Lumpur and the

Suntec City in Singapore, while maintaining national identity and cultural heritage as a visible dimension of their aesthetic impact they nonetheless aimed explicitly at facilitating the city's appeal to the newly emerging global economy (Olds, 1995).

The obvious example of a city 'going global' (to translate the popular phrase) is Singapore. The city-state Singapore has evidently positioned itself as a global city beginning with the heritage conservation in the mid-1980s. Reclaiming the city's oriental mystique and unique aesthetic complexity, the city both arrested falling tourist numbers (Yeoh, 2000, p.118) and defined a visible urban identity that set it apart from its neighbours. In 1992, Singapore government cultural policy created the neologism 'Global City for the Arts' so as to further its sociocultural objectives of more vividly defining its cultural identity and uniqueness as well as attracting visitors (including 'foreign talent' – transnational elites of the entrepreneurial, managerial and professional class who, it was thought, "add to Singapore's vibrancy and secure our place in a global network of cities of excellence" (Lee Kuan Yew, the Senior Minister; cited in Yeoh, 2004, p.2435). In this city vision, the arts were to contribute to a 'symbolic economy' with three modes: art and antique trading and auction centre; a theatre hub of southeast Asia; and, an entertainment destination for tourists and leisure-seekers (Chang, 2000, p.819).

By the turn of the millennium 2000, the 'Global City for the Arts' policy vision (published by Ministry of Information and the Arts) was further complemented by the notion of 'Renaissance City'. Lee Yock Suan (2001, p.2), the then Minister of Information and the Arts, explained that the term 'renaissance' signified "the spirit of creativity, innovation and multidisciplinary learning and socioeconomic, intellectual and cultural vibrancy". It was to support a vision for Singapore as prospering in the new knowledge-based economy, to explain "how culture and the arts can contribute to the national picture", as well as "project a positive and well-rounded image of Singapore

internationally” (Lee, 2001, p.2). Central to this vision is the monumental urbanscape launched in October 2002, the *Esplanade-Theatres on the Bay*. As an assemblage of several theatres and performance spaces in spectacular shape, it covers six hectares of prime city land, visibly transforming the city’s skyline, waterfront and aerial view. Symbolically, it exemplified the state’s investment in both urbanisation and cultural facilities, the conditions of the new knowledge-based economic development with global reach.

Malaysia’s use of city branding can be seen from the Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC) mega-project, which includes the Petronas Towers, the world’s tallest building at that time (opened in 1999). This immediately maintained a symbolic civic role both internationally and domestically by marking the city and nation as a modern and ‘investible’ metropolis, and demonstrating the Malaysia Boleh, a ‘can-do’ attitude-free from the supposed shackles of (neo-) colonial inferiority (Bunnell, 2004, p.9). Besides, the Petronas Towers were often remarked on in terms of signifying the ‘new Malay’ in an increasingly multicultural society engaging the world of commerce (Kusno; cited in Bunnell, 2004, p.75), while also a feature of increasing cultural and urban critique where culture was being widely identified as masking social, ethnic, class and gender polarisations by “mobilis[ing] every aesthetic power of illusion and image” (Silk, 2002, p.778).

In Southeast Asian urban life, the dynamics of such cultural politics are highly complex. While many urban civil society institutions are products of the professional middle classes, there are also a burgeoning number of urban social movements – religious, ideological, cultural, ethnic, gendered and those emerging from the experience of the underclass (Clammer, 2003). As cities re-evaluate the nature of their relationship between the local and the global, they set in motion a simultaneous politics of ‘forgetting’ and ‘remembering’, of ‘inclusion’, ‘exclusion’ and ‘revalorisation’ (Lee and Yeoh, 2004,

p.2298). Unlike Western contexts, however, the use of city branding, urban mega-projects and iconic architecture as an urban regeneration strategy have been most visible in the capitals and large regional cities in Asia (Shatkin, 1998). This tends to widen a gap between the large cities and smaller cities (or secondary cities) across the region, and this thesis will later make clear how Creative City policies have contributed to an amelioration of that gap and share in the cultural policy developments of the capital or primary cities.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Following the adoption of the Creative City policy in cities of Southeast Asia and the many scholars of the two decades since Landry and Bianchini's initial publication, the theoretical framework emerges. The contention in this thesis is that the Creative City policy notion has (a) expanded into global policy discourse, and (b) this discourse has become a 'Trojan horse' for specific models of economic development, facilitated by ideologies that can be identified as neoliberal (Mould, 2015). Besides, international trends in 'fast policy' (Peck, 2005), the 'Xerox' approach (Pratt, 2009b), or 'cookie-cutter' models of policymaking (Oakley, 2004), seem to react to the demands of global markets for rapid economic growth. Generally, these critical observations follow from Landry's subsequent contention that the Creative City notion is no longer a provocation for developing an urban imaginary capable of realising the cities' potential – but for Asian countries (for example) effectively copying what seems to provoke rapid economic growth as evidenced in the West. With notable examples of Glasgow and Bilbao, Southeast Asian cities have been adopting the Creative City notion and are vulnerable to the as-yet-unknown long-term impacts of neoliberalisation. This thesis has been investigating such impacts. Thus, the theoretical framework of this thesis concerns using the concepts of the Creative City and neoliberalism, both of which will be subject to an incremental investigation.

The post-war writings of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman on free markets, innovation and enterprise, are arguably the opening of a cluster of economic theories that were later branded as 'neoliberal' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). It was during the early 1980s that neoliberalism as a term gained prominence (and as older industrialised countries faced with the decline of the traditional mass-production industries and the crisis of Keynesian welfare policies: Brenner and Theodore, 2002). These countries started to deploy policies intended to extend market discipline, competition, and commodification throughout all sectors of society (ibid) and are often remembered in terms of 'free market' policies (signifying a commitment to minimal state intervention). In this context, what we now call neoliberal economic doctrines were also deployed to justify the changes in policies and urban landscape, including the deregulation of state control over major industries, the privatisation of public services, the dismantling of welfare programmes, the promotion of international capital mobility, the intensification of interlocal competition, and an increasing policing of the urban poor (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.350). The rationales for such were economic development (reindustrialisation and its employment 'benefits').

It must be emphasised that the concept of 'Trojan Horse' is, of course, a metaphor, and does not imply a complete or absolute socio-material transformation of the macro-economics of Southeast Asian region and its diversity of national economies. Indeed, Chapter Three serves to register both the diversity of Southeast Asian national economies and how 'free market'-oriented capitalism emerged in the region before 'neoliberal' characteristics could be observed. Moreover, urban economists Brenner and Theodore (2002) provide this thesis investigation with specific and empirically observable criteria in the form of a template, employed systematically in an examination of each case city example. The claims of this thesis, therefore, extend only as far as the criteria allow, and only as far as each case can demonstrate. A more extensive investigation would of course require an assessment

of the relation between economic data, industrial policy and the social changes of the worker (labour conditions, standard of living, rights and opportunities, and so on). However, this thesis is principally a study of cultural policy not urban economy, and is only concerned with urban economic phenomenon insofar as it can be employed as evidence of material for a critical analysis of urban culture. This thesis argues that the Creative City policy discourse is indeed a 'Trojan Horse' of neoliberalism, but only in the criteria of neoliberalism set forth in the methodology and Brenner and Theodore's (2002) critical criteria as explained below, and demonstrably significant in an analysis of urban culture.

There have been many scholars who account for neoliberalism, and there is considerable agreement regarding the basic elements of neoliberalism as an ideological project. Moody (1997, p.119-120) describes neoliberalism concisely as "...a mixture of neoclassical economic fundamentalism, market regulation in place of state guidance, economic redistribution in favour of capital (known as supply-side economics), moral authoritarianism with an idealised family at its centre, international free trade principles (sometimes inconsistently applied), and a thorough intolerance of trade unionism". However, as Moody and others have emphasised, there is also a rather distinct contrast between neoliberal ideology and its everyday political operations and societal effects. While neoliberalism encourages the creation of free markets, in practice, the state has to step in to impose a market rule upon all aspects of social life (Keil, 2002; MacLeod, 2002). Moreover, neoliberal ideology implies that self-regulating markets will generate an optimal allocation of investments and resources; however, the neoliberal political practice has generated pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarisation, and an uneven development at all spatial scales (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In short, as Gill (1995, p.407) explains, "the neoliberal shift in government policies has tended to subject the majority of the population to the power of market forces while

preserving social protection for the strong". During the last two decades, the effects of neoliberal approaches to capitalist restructuring have been manifested in diverse institutional arenas and at a range of spatial scales (see Amin, 1997; Bourdieu, 1998; Gill 1995; Isin, 1998; Jessop and Stones, 1992; Peck and Tickell, 1994). As such studies have indicated, the disjuncture between the ideology of self-regulating markets and the everyday reality of persistent economic stagnation – intensifying inequality, destructive interplace competition, and generalised social insecurity – has been particularly blatant in precisely those political-economic contexts in which neoliberal doctrines have been imposed most extensively (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.352).

The various disconnections that have accompanied the worldwide imposition of neoliberalism – between ideology and practice; doctrine and reality; vision and consequence are not just unexpected side effects; however, they are among its most essential features (Gill, 1995). Therefore, a purely definitional approach to the political economy of neoliberal restructuring contains significant analytical limitations (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Brenner and Theodore (2002, p.353) suggest that "...in the present context, the somewhat elusive phenomenon that needs definition must be construed as a historically specific, ongoing, and internally contradictory process of market-driven sociospatial transformation, rather than as a fully actualised policy regime, ideological form, or regulatory framework".

Neoliberalism has evolved so much during the last four decades. It started from a relatively abstract economic doctrine in the 1970s, then as a means of dismantling or 'rolling back' that established welfarist arrangements in 1980s (in the UK, for example, 'Keynesianism' or a state-directed economy). The most recent evolvement of neoliberalism in the 1990s involved a reconstituted form of market-guided regulation that intends to release a short-term economic growth but arguably leaves deep socio-political contradictions (Peck and

Tickell, 2002). Moreover, now neoliberalism has conveniently infiltrated cultural and creative discourses in cities, as Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue, making cities strategically crucial geographical areas in which a variety of neoliberal initiatives have been articulated. They argue that cities – including their suburban peripheries – have become increasingly critical geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, with culture being a significant component (incorporated in the strategic advances of ‘place-marketing’, new urban development corporations, enterprise and empowerment zones, public-private partnerships, local ‘boosterism’ to welfare policies, new strategies of social control, and many more similar neologisms and policies that are now common knowledge and function broadly support the neoliberal ideologies (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.368). The overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to mobilise city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices. They emphasise that the processes of neoliberal localisation necessarily unfold in place-specific forms and combinations within a particular local and national context.

Concerning urban scale, neoliberalism has entailed a number of significant institutional realignments, “including (a) the establishment of cooperative business-led networks in local politics; (b) the mobilisation of new forms of local economic development policy that foster interim cooperation and industrial clustering; (c) the deployment of community-based programs to alleviate social exclusion; (d) the promotion of new forms of coordination and inter-organisational networking among previously distinct spheres of local state intervention; and (e) the creation of new regional institutions to promote metropolitan-wide place-making and intergovernmental coordination” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.374-375). The work done by Brenner and Theodore (2002) on urban neoliberalism acts as

a framework for the analysis of the implementation of the Creative City notion in the case study cities.

1.4 Thesis Rationale and Aims

At the beginning of the ‘post-industrial’ era (arguably, the early 1970s: Bell, 1974), cities in the global North faced a significant economic and social transition as (noted above) major industrial cities saw their industry dissolve and shift to other regions of the world, including the cities of Southeast Asia. Culture became an instrument for urban revitalisation, and this would continue and evolve into the 1990s, where ‘creativity’ became an accepted public policy term at national level (as in the UK, with the government Department of Culture, Media and Sport’s 1998 Creative Industries Mapping Report: DCMS, 1998) and at global level (with the first UN Creative Economy report, 2008: UNCTAD, 2008). The rationale of this thesis is to interrogate the appropriation of creativity as a policy tool in the form of the Creative City notion, whose first policy expression was the aforementioned DEMOS publication by Landry and Bianchini in 1995 (and subsequent consultancy and strategy work for cities provided by the Comedia group of which they were central: see Landry 2000 as the result of this and with several case studies of their work). The thesis is concerned explicitly with the alliance of creativity and economic doctrine, where ‘culture’ is used to promise many benefits of economic-reform-driven development. While many scholars have identified the problematic relation between culture and the economy (Mould, 2015: Oakley, 2004; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2009b) this thesis focused exclusively on their relation in the context of the Creative City policy discourse — and its actual and pretended use in long term urban planning for Southeast Asian cities: whose city was being constructed through these short-term thinking projects, with long-term implications. This thesis attempts to account for the appropriation and implementation of Creative City policies in the context of cultural and social development and its intended and actual beneficiaries.

This thesis, therefore, aims to assess how the Creative City notion has been deployed in four ASEAN cities, all of which are significant within an ASEAN regional economic context. The aims are to explore (a) how the concept of Creative City is appropriated in each city's policy environment – what it comprises and what it does not; (b) explore the particular economic contexts of this adaption, and identify what roles (intended and actual) the Creative City notion plays for each city; and (c) evaluate the strength of the hypothetic assertion that the Creative City notion is a veritable 'Trojan horse' of neoliberalism (that is, while promising the richness, tradition, diversity and pleasures of culture — often explicitly defined as the common heritage of all citizens — the outputs and outcomes of such policy appropriation can only be fully articulated by understanding the 'creative' and culture as an economic phenomenon — a strategic instrument in furthering the characteristics of neoliberal economy as they will be defined).

1.5 Objectives and Methodology

To meet the aims of this research, the specific research objectives of this thesis were and remained:

1. To review the literature concerning the Creative City discourse in relation to urban neoliberalism and Creative City policy development in Southeast Asia;
2. To investigate the implementation of the Creative City policy notion in key Southeast Asian cities;
3. To analyse the use of the Creative City policy notion in relation to cultural outputs and outcomes in relation to neoliberal doctrines and their free market expression (specifically, individualisation, civil society, economic self-sufficiency and a non-dependent relation to nation-state government);
4. To identify critical and unresolved policy issues throughout the Southeast Asian region (and by implication of concern to ASEAN).

There are three main methodological-procedural characteristics of this thesis: the literature review, empirical investigations (case study-based), and critical socio-cultural analysis. These methods together were chosen so as to comprehend (a) the appropriation of the Creative City policy notion within an Asian context; (b) to define the specific characteristics of that appropriation (what 'Creative City' means in an Asian context, and how this appropriation could be understood and defended as appropriate; and (c) how we understand the cultural, urban and political as co-extensive (understand the Creative City as a cultural policy for cities, arguably used instrumentally as a covert economic development policy). The critical socio-cultural analysis aims to look at the political conditions of the changes brought on a city by its adopting the Creative City model, and understand the relation between cultural policies and social change (though only insofar as it can be explained empirically — there are huge theoretical questions that emerge from this that far exceed to scope of this thesis. The frameworks used for the critical socio-cultural analysis are (a) Brenner and Theodore's template on the principal features of neoliberalism and its social impacts (2002), and (b) Grodach's (2017) classification on modes of urban cultural policy (which allow us to comprehend what specific policy registers are implicated in the impacts tabulated by Brenner and Theodore).

The principal method of the research is the case study: arguments and central claims from each case study are discussed and interpreted within the scope of the theoretical framework to find their implications for both theoretical understandings of the Creative City discourse and a critical evaluation of its embodiment in the Southeast Asian cities. Specific issues were carefully selected from each case study chapter to be discussed; this includes participation in Chiang Mai, representation in Bandung, policy process in Cebu, and social diversity in George Town. These issues were examined thoroughly using the theoretical framework as this responds to the central

research question (if the Creative City discourse in Southeast Asia is a Trojan horse of the Western neoliberalism).

As this thesis aims to explain the phenomenon of the emergence of the Creative City policy in ASEAN, the qualitative approach is the suitable approach as qualitative approach offers the in-depth understanding of social phenomenon within their natural setting. The primary methodology of this thesis is the case study, and it is suitable for the thesis because the case study helps explain complex situations and enables researchers to answer questions of 'how' and 'why'. The case study uses various data sources, which allows researchers to understand multiple facets of the phenomenon in its own context (Baxter and Jack, 2008). This is one of the advantages of case study research because the application of multiple data sources enhances data credibility (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Potential data sources may comprise documentation, archival records, interviews, physical objects, direct observations and participant observation (Baxter and Jack, 2008). These data are combined in the analytical process, which contributes to the holistic understanding of the Creative City policy movement.

Literature Review

The literature review of Chapter Two revolves around the literature concerning the Creative City discourse in the UK and US, its development as an internationally influential and immediately recognisable policy and then policy appropriation in Asia. The work of Charles Landry, Richard Florida and John Howkins are internal to this appropriation insofar as they have been the singularly three most influential writers (in part as they repeatedly visited Asia as consultants) and who generated the terminology through which the Creative City notion has been defined in Asia. However, the Literature Review points out how these three writers offer quite different approaches and their work in unison does not present a cohesive or theoretically co-extensive notion of Creative City. Landry's essential

concern is defining a place-based 'public' city: the arts and culture (artistic creativity) are used to address the social alienation generated by economic change as much as greater exploitation of economic opportunity through greater common access to opportunity (a programmatic public approach). Florida, rather, is (or was) an economist concerned with economic growth and the ways economy in the knowledge economy-era is becoming much more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the individual worker (as member of a new social labouring class of knowledge worker). Howkins is somewhat less motivated by a strong argument and is more explanatory — providing a framework for understanding how 'creativity' is transforming the economic processes of industrial development government policymakers think they understand (production, distribution, circulation and consumption are composed and configured very differently with creative industry). This thesis does not argue that these three writers themselves have composed a 'discourse' but does indeed proceed on the basis of the working assumption that within these three writers we find the most influential terms by which the Asian appropriation of Creative City can be articulated. Nonetheless, the different dimensions of the Creative City discourse as these three writers typify are always in tension, as will be explored in the case studies.

The literature review also touches on the research contexts of the Creative City, as many overlapping sub-fields are also important in understanding the growth of the Creative City concept and the many research contexts it has spawned — from creative and cultural industries to urban place-making, culture-led regeneration, the global city, city branding, creative clusters, creative networks and the networked city, and many other distinct areas. The key texts are identified to study key characteristics or dimensions that each research context has contributed to the Creative City idea in becoming a policy discourse.

It, then, leads to the development of the Creative City as a global discourse of economic growth, turning attention to the emergence of Creative City policy in Asia and where the theoretical framework established through the literature review is then used as a basis for planning the case analysis research. From the literature review, the theoretical framework of this thesis emerged, including the hypothesis of this thesis – and also a central claim – that is the Creative City discourse is a Trojan horse of neoliberalism. The qualitative research process also consists of the testing of hypotheses; however, they are not formulated in advance; they evolve as the research project unfold (Alasuutari, 1995).

Empirical Investigations

In this part, the processes of Asia's recent development are investigated to contribute to the understanding of the development of the Creative City policy at the regional level. The concept of ASEAN and its creative cities network are discussed, including major examples of Creative City policies across Asia. The economic conditions of the Southeast Asian cities are explained so as to contextualise the four case studies. For the case studies, four main research methods were adopted: desk research, interview, policy analysis, and the tabulation of neoliberal processes. For each city, desk research was conducted on the socio-economic history of the city, why and how each city has adopted and adapted the Creative City paradigm, and what developments and policy-facilitated actions have emerged. The detail on the latter has been gained through field trips and interviews, the websites of agencies involved in policy implementation, local and national news, official publications (of government and its agencies, or public institutions), and secondary sources such as academic journal articles. As a central case study, in-depth interviews were conducted for the Chiang Mai case. Six stakeholders were selected and interviewed. The stakeholders were chosen from relations to the development of the city towards a creative city goal. The chosen stakeholders are:

- (i) Director of the Creative Chiang Mai
- (ii) Director of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and the UNESCO World Heritage Site
- (iii) Director of Thailand Creative and Design Centre (Chiang Mai branch)
- (iv) Director of Chiang Mai Art Conversation
- (v) A representative of the creative class in Chiang Mai
- (vi) Director of Chiang Mai Smart City

In-depth interviews, using semi-structured questions, were conducted, notwithstanding the substantial difficulty in gaining access to key personnel. The interview questions aimed to establish the parameters and orientation of the other three case studies. As a central case study, the interviews were used to construct an historical narrative of recent Creative City development process in Chiang Mai – desk research could only tell of each new Creative City event in the city, not the transitions and deliberations between them. Therefore, without the interviews, this research could not have been able to reach the level of detail and of critical reflection as a narrative on development offers. Each interview was of a duration of around one to two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed under conditions of data security.

Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the interview transcripts. The themes were (1) the decision-making processes of Creative City development; (2) the aims and objectives of each organisation; (3) the results of policy or strategy implementation; (4) the problems and obstacles of the implementation processes; and (5) the perspectives of the interviewees about the city. This material was then used to bridge the gaps of data from the secondary sources, including official documents, news articles, and organisational websites.

A policy tabulation is created using Grodach's (2017) classification on modes of urban cultural policy and modes of creative cities to investigate the direction of each case study from their projects.

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Public patronage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support artistic excellence • Enhance access to the arts • Promote national identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art grants • Cultural facilities • Heritage preservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations • Federal, state, and local governments
Economic impact of cultural amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase arts funding • Arts in growth coalition • Attract city centre investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment • Economic impact studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations • Local governments • Various development interests
Cultural planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community development and participation • Support local cultural expression • Neighbourhood economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community cultural engagement • Integrate arts in urban planning process • Support neighbourhood cultural projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations and residents • Community organisations and residents • Local governments
Cultural industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage marginalised communities • Recognition of cultural industries beyond "the arts" • Urban economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural industries in redevelopment • Rehab industrial districts • Study cultural production and agglomerations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural firms and intermediaries • Local government • Redevelopment interests

Table 1.1: *Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present* (Grodach, 2017, p.84)

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Creative city strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth • Public participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities for redevelopment • Inter-agency collaboration • Public-private partnerships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups
Creative industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote R&D, intellectual property development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State and local government • Entrepreneurs • ICT, entertainment and media industries

Creative class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities • Urban branding and consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups
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Table 1.2: *Creative city policy* (Grodach, 2017, p.85)

The emerging narrative suggested a necessary criteria-based framework (neoliberalism) as a means of using research material for critical analysis and argument-based assessment of the appropriation of the Creative City notion in each specific city. A tabulation of the impacts (the principal characteristics of neoliberal economic development) was taken directly from the article “Actually Existing Neoliberalism” by Brenner and Theodore (2002) and allowed an objective means of situating the empirical case study material from each city within a neoliberal theoretical model. This enabled a critique of neoliberalism that identified the impacts of ‘destruction’ and ‘creation’ in urban transformation — internal to the impact development of neoliberal economic policies and also specific to the Asian city. This tabulation is then employed to analyse and evaluate the trajectory of policymaking, economic change, ‘creative’ activities and the range of cultural events that usually accompany the declaration of a city’s new-found creative status.

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Restructuring strategies of territorial development</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of autocentric national models of capitalist growth • Destruction of traditional compensatory regional policies • Increasing exposure of local and regional economies to global competitive forces • Fragmentation of national space-economies into discrete urban and regional industrial systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of free trade zones, enterprise zones, and other deregulated spaces within major urban regions • Creation of new development areas, technopoles, and other new industrial spaces at subnational scales • Mobilization of new “glocal” strategies intended to rechannel economic capacities and infrastructure investments into “globally connected” local/regional agglomerations
<i>Transformations of the built environment and urban form</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces • Destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment • Retreat from community-oriented planning initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption • Construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns • Creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other “purified” spaces of social reproduction • “Rolling forward” of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization • Adoption of the principle of “highest and best use” as the basis for major land-use planning decisions

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elimination of public monopolies for the provision of standardized municipal services (utilities, sanitation, public safety, mass transit, etc) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Privatization and competitive contracting of municipal services • Creation of new markets for service delivery and infrastructure maintenance • Creation of privatized, customized, and networked urban infrastructures intended to (re)position cities within supranational capital flows
<i>Restructuring urban housing markets</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Razing public housing and other forms of low-rent accommodation • Elimination of rent controls and project-based construction subsidies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new opportunities for speculative investment in central-city real estate markets • Emergency shelters become “warehouses” for the homeless • Introduction of market rents and tenant-based vouchers in low-rent niches of urban housing markets
<i>Reworking labor market regulation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of traditional, publicly funded education, skills training, and apprenticeship programs for youth, displaced workers, and the unemployed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of a new regulatory environment in which temporary staffing agencies, unregulated “labor corners,” and other forms of contingent work can proliferate • Implementation of work-readiness programs aimed at the conscription of workers into low-wage jobs • Expansion of informal economies

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Recalibration of intergovernmental relations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities; creation of new incentive structures to reward local entrepreneurialism and to catalyze “endogenous growth”
<i>Retrenchment of public finance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imposition of fiscal austerity measures upon municipal governments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new revenue-collection districts and increased reliance of municipalities upon local sources of revenue, user fees, and other instruments of private finance
<i>Restructuring the welfare state</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local relays of national welfare service-provision are retrenched; assault on managerial-welfarist local state apparatuses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expansion of community-based sectors and private approaches to social service provision • Imposition of mandatory work requirements on urban welfare recipients; new (local) forms of workfare experimentation
<i>Reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of bureaucratized, hierarchical forms of local public administration • Devolution of erstwhile state tasks to voluntary community networks • Assault on traditional relays of local democratic accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Rolling forward” of new networked forms of local governance based upon public–private partnerships, “quangos,” and the “new public management” • Establishment of new institutional relays through which elite business interests can directly influence major local development decisions

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Interlocal policy transfer</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erosion of contextually sensitive approaches to local policymaking • Marginalization of “home-grown” solutions to localized market failures and governance failures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diffusion of generic, prototypical approaches to “modernizing” reform among policymakers in search of quick fixes for local social problems (eg welfare-to-work programs, place-marketing strategies, zero-tolerance crime policies, etc) • Imposition of decontextualized “best practice” models upon local policy environments
<i>Re-regulation of urban civil society</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction of the “liberal city” in which all inhabitants are entitled to basic civil liberties, social services, and political rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of zero-tolerance crime policies and “broken windows” policing • Introduction of new discriminatory forms of surveillance and social control • Introduction of new policies to combat social exclusion by reinserting individuals into the labor market
<i>Re-representing the city</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas

Table 1.3: *Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.369-372)

1.6 Thesis Structure

This research consists of eight chapters that aim to respond directly to the prior stated research questions and to contribute to the broader scholarly critical investigation on the uses of cultural policies in social and economic development. The first chapter aims to clarify the research subject and the research field in order to situate and position the thesis within the field of cultural policy studies. The theoretical framework is also formed with direct reference to the criterion by which 'neoliberalism' (a critical neologism) can be deployed as an analytical concept (a concept used to analyse a given situation and its phenomenon). Additionally, the rationale, thesis aims, objectives, methodology, and the central argument are stated here in the first chapter.

The second chapter aims to define the emergence and compelling aspects of the Creative City policy idea and how it has been developed into an influential policy discourse: why this discourse became internationally popular and particularly popular in Asia is a large topic only broached in basic terms in this thesis. Nonetheless, as conceptual background, it is important that the components or dimensions of this discourse are set forth — terminology, concepts, and recent scholarly debates that underpin a more extensive investigation on this large subject. The main proponents of 'creative' policy discourse for cities are Charles Landry, Richard Florida, and John Howkins, but also UNCTAD, UNESCO and the British Council, whose organisational roles in the global dissemination of the policy notion is far more complex to be explained in this thesis. The focus of this thesis is the political implications of the emergence of Creative City policy in Southeast Asian cities.

Chapter Two offers the background theory and contexts of the Creative City policy notion in the West. In Chapter Three, the focus turns to the Asian region, discussing Asia's recent economic development and the rise of the ASEAN alliance (and its creative cities

network). Significant examples of Creative City policies across Asia are cited, with an emphasis on the social dimension of economic development. The four case studies are framed in such a way as to identify the difference of East and West in terms of geo-economic diversity and social culture, and specifically, the common challenges facing urban cultural policies in the region (so often ignored by 'creative' approaches).

Chapter Four to Seven will present each case study individually by having Chiang Mai as a central case study. For each city, five principal components will be discussed: (i) background history and economic development, (ii) governance and social development, (iii) creative city policy development and implementation, (iv) analysis and critique – using the prior stated criteria of neoliberalism, and (v) the conclusion on how it contributes to the investigation.

The final chapter is a critical analysis. This chapter aims to analyse the four critical issues generated by each of the four case studies. The four issues are (1) participation (Chiang Mai), (2) representation (Bandung), (3) policy process and deliberation (Cebu), and (4) social inclusion and diversity (George Town). This chapter serves to construct the central argument of the thesis, that notwithstanding the evident economic development and benefits of an economic investment in arts and culture (the 'creative') that the Creative City notion has generated critical issues for the democratic development of each city (inhibitive of a fully democratic economic development as it demonstrates characteristics of neoliberalism).

1.7 The Research Questions and Central Argument

The central argument of this thesis is reflexive: that the Creative City discourse is indeed a 'Trojan horse' of Western neoliberalism in the Southeast Asian region — as evidenced in the four case study cities — but this assertion (a common one among urbanists and cultural policy scholars) is not decisive. As the historical background and

empirical research demonstrate, the attribution of 'neoliberalism' is not as unproblematic as it might be in the West. Some characteristics of 'neoliberalism' can be misidentified for older forms of economic practice, and moreover 'neoliberalism' can be conflated with certain market-based domestic policies in Asia that might well have no immediate ideological dimension (as they do in the West). I argue, however, that neoliberalism in these cities has indeed generated identifiable dilemmas internal to the development of each city, specifically with their prior commitments to democracy and the processes of democratisation. This includes the basic processes of democratisation — participation, representation, public policy deliberation and social inclusion. These basic considerations are derived from the analysis of each case study using a prior and justified theoretical framework (the criterion for identifying neoliberalism in the context of urban development).

Within this historical context (and the research conducted prior to devising the structure of this thesis), the principle research questions have emerged. This thesis asks:

- (1) What is the Creative City discourse, and how has it contributed to policy development for the ASEAN region and its policies on the economic development of principle ASEAN cities?
- (2) How has the Creative City policy notion been adopted by particular ASEAN cities, and adapted to Asian urban realities?
- (3) Is the Creative City discourse within ASEAN a 'Trojan horse' of neoliberalism — a means by which Western form of market-based social norms have been imported and imposed on Asian urban cultural life?

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter conceptualises the central idea of this thesis, the Creative City, and identifies its central policy features as adapted by Southeast Asian cities. The principal aims of this chapter are to explain (a) how the Creative City idea emerged, and then developed into a policy discourse; (b) how this discourse became international and popular in Asia; and (c) articulate the components or dimensions of this discourse – and its corresponding policy functions. The first part of this chapter will attend to the immediate discursive contexts of East-West contact (UNESCO, UNCTAD, and British Council), the second part will focus on the work from the three writers whose theories define the policy discourse in a significant way – Landry, Florida, and Howkins. The final part will attempt to define the ‘lexicon’ of the Creative City as a broad policy concept – its component features.

2.1 The Dimensions of Creative City Policy in Asia

The emergence of Creative City policy in Asia cannot be historically defined without reference to the emergence of the creative industries in large Asian cities in the past three decades (including many UK and US advertising, branding and marketing, PR and corporate communications regional offices (Kong, 2000; Lee and Lim, 2014). This exceeds the scope of this thesis: for our purposes, the Creative City as cultural urban policy can be considered part of new innovations to emerge in response to the 1997 Asian financial crisis: creative economy, industries and all things ‘creative’ was, for Asia, internal to the new fast-moving growth policies of the West (principally the US and Europe, including the UK: Garcia, 2004). ‘Creativity’ signified a low-barrier, low-cost and dramatic solution to an urgent need for the industrial transformation of the urban landscapes in tandem with the development of the economy (Kong, 2009). Beginning with Japan, China, South Korea and Taiwan, countries in Southeast Asia already (as will be noted in the next chapter) an existing educational, training

and industrial infrastructure for design-based innovation and manufacturing, and quickly forged a strong policy rhetoric that included the 'cultural and creative industries' as strategic tool for rapid economic growth (Lee, 2019, p.1).

Many scholars point out two primary characteristics of this initial period post 1997: (i) that while many commercial 'creative industries' already existed in Asian countries, the addition of the 'cultural' and the arts and heritage to economic development was indeed an innovation derived from the West; and (ii) that the use of cultural policies in East Asia, particularly Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and China, tended to be for social and political agendas rather than economic (Chang and Huang, 2005; Kong, 2000; Lee, 2014; Lee and Lim, 2014). Since the late 1980s, East Asian countries started to use culture beyond the exploitation of arts and heritage, as a key economic asset in nation-branding and as approaches to public diplomacy or soft power (Lee and Lim, 2014; Lee, 2019, p.2). The role of culture was gaining in credibility with the increasing pervasiveness of ideas on the 'knowledge economy', 'post-industrial' and globalisation (Lee and Lim, 2014).

In one sense the increasing appearance of the cultural and creative industries at the level of national policy in Asia was a consequence of the region's post 1997 influence by the West's reindustrialisation and rapid conversion to a service-sector-based economy (Lee, 2019, p.3), at the same time, the assumption that policy was simply replicated or copied cannot be squared with the evident diversity of Asian countries' and their complex social and economic history (including religion and ethnic allegiances, some of which are not indigenous but regional and migratory). This presents challenges for the researcher: a broader historical study of the role of cultural and creative industries would require a critical comprehension of the cross-cultural dynamics of policy transfer and policy migration as well as the complexity of interpretation within policy implementation process. This, however,

exceeds the aims of this thesis. The interests of this thesis, rather, follow from three observations made by Lee and Lim in 2014 (p.4-5) namely: (1) historically, Asia has predominantly experienced state-led development, which means economic growth was always a priority over other policy goals; (2) these countries shared a Confucian cultural heritage that values “loyalty, hard work, education and a sense of collective responsibility, which affects that way society is organised and coordinated” (Rozman, 1991, cited in Lee and Lim, 2014, p.4); and (3) the history of colonisation, ideological conflicts and the Cold War have shaped the relationships between countries (Lee and Lim, 2014, p.5), which are cooperative but not homogenous. Following from this, a working assumption in this thesis is that Southeast Asian countries, while socially cohesive on many levels, are particularly open to policies promising economic growth, and this might be to the extent that they are not entirely aware of the internal relationship (causal and otherwise) between economic growth and social cohesion (and internal relationship the critical framework used in this thesis would observe is destructive).

The visible adoption of the Creative City idea could be witnessed relatively late, in 2004, in both Seoul (South Korea) and Yokohama (Japan). Seoul saw dramatic political and social opposition to Creative City policy from various citizen groups and environmental activists, arguing against the ‘McDonaldization of urban design,’ or ‘top-down’ models that are tend to elite-led urban planning (Hill and Kim, 2000; Fujita, 2003; Saito, 2003). However, these objections were not repeated in Yokohama, and the Creative City began its influential policy journey. Starting with Bandung in 2008, Cebu and George Town in 2009, and Chiang Mai in 2010, these ASEAN cities formed a network within the ASEAN framework called the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network and by 2014 it had become a pioneer organisation for other cities (Phuket, Pekalongan, Baguio City, among others) to emulate.

The UNESCO Creative Cities Network

One critical factor in the Asian uptake of the Creative City was the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN), established in 2004 to promote cooperation with and among cities that have identified creativity as a strategic factor for their urban development. There are (as of 2019) 180 member cities that have established aims “placing creativity and cultural industries at the heart of their development plans at the local level and cooperating actively at the international level” (UNESCO, 2019). So as not to repeat the earlier difficulties of World Heritage programme, where network memberships would inevitably be awarded to the most economically developed countries, the Creative City network was defined in terms of seven creative fields — where many may include already developed indigenous industries and do not require either professional specialisation, statutory standards of practice, or substantial infrastructural investment. The seven creative fields are crafts and folk art, media arts, film, design, gastronomy, literature and music, and the only investment obligations on the part of members is that by joining the network member cities (i) commit to sharing their knowledge and best practices internationally with other members (which can, and is by design, to the benefit of the less-endowed cities); (ii) developing partnership with the public, private and civil society — often to the advantage of public agencies with limited resources; and (iii) to integrate culture and creativity into sustainable development plans, something that only needs to be demonstrated as a written commitment not a practical reality. An annual members meeting is optional, where a quadrennial report and action plan is a requirement (UNESCO, 2019).

The UNCTAD Creative Economy Programme

In 2004, UNCTAD initiated the Creative Economy Programme as they believe that “Today, the creative industries are among the most dynamic sectors in the world economy” (UNCTAD, 2019), and therefore potentially useful or even transformative for development. This is specifically true of developing countries, who find it difficult to

gain access to international trade and global markets — hence the interest of UNCTAD. The Creative Economy reports (2008, 2010, 2013) have arguably become the most influential policy documents on the subject ever written (all three encompassing the Creative City). *The Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition Widening Local Development Pathways* (UNESCO-UNCTAD, 2013) was largely commissioned in collaboration with UNESCO and heavily reflects the latter's concern for place-based, community and socially-engaged 'human' development, both committed to human rights (as 'rights-based development') and environmental sustainability. This evidently favoured a Creative City policy approach, which since its inception in the 1990s was devised with strong socio-urban concerns.

The 2004 Creative Economy Programme by UNCTAD was primarily a policy project and to-date still gates policy intelligence and consistent data on the trade in cultural goods and indigenous creative economies for countries in need of support for their creative economies. UNCTAD's Creative Economy Network is a parallel process to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, and city authorities in Asia often benefit from the complimentary resources of both.

The British Council Creative Economy

The British Council Creative Economy team are internationally active on a project-basis, partnering with teams in specific cities (principally artists, creative entrepreneurs and policymakers) to collaborate on forging the strategic research and policy instruments, training and publicity, to generate branded spaces, programmes, events and stimulus for indigenous enterprise and organisational ecosystems to emerge. On one level, British Council organisational strategy provides for the dissemination, sharing and experience input from UK professionals and sector leaders (where funding or project grants are available for UK-based professionals to travel to sponsored cities and aid the spreading of best-practice models, building international networks and providing advocacy and support for political recognition and need for national investment). On another level, the British Council

drawn on development field skills in communication, collaboration and stimulation of non-invasive indigenous growth. The Creative Cities programme is internal to the Creative Economy programme, which has prioritised training, leadership, and capacity-building through hubs, incubators, and ecosystem formations. They maintain a specific skills-set in business innovation and start-up creative enterprise, and digital and interactive technologies. These are particularly attractive to Asian countries, notably the cities of Seoul and Bangkok, where in Thailand the British Council has partnered with the Creative and Design Center (TCDC) to manage the Regional Forum on Hubs and Cities, and a Cities of Cultural Exchange Forum (both active since 2017).

It is evident that UNESCO Creative Cities Network has been an influential network in different parts of the world, including the Southeast Asian region, as shown in the membership of 180 cities in five regions: Africa, Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, and Latin America and the Caribbean. In Asia and the Pacific, there are 52 member states, and in the Southeast Asian region, there are six member cities. The UNCTAD Creative Economy Programme asserts the significance of creativity — Creative Economy, Creative Industries, and Creative City — as both policy and industrial development, and the Creative Economy reports published in 2008, 2010, and 2013 have provided policymakers around the world, in city-based, regional and intergovernmental contexts, both policy, evaluation and development frameworks, as well as empirical data on which to base these, or for advocacy (UNCTAD, 2008). The British Council Creative Economy has also influenced projects and urban policies around the world in a more specific targeted way, and across Southeast Asia the British Council has a high profile, heavily influencing the establishment of Bandung Creative City Forum and Cebu Creative City Council. Most importantly, these actors frame the subject of this research as they place the subject, the Creative City, in a global discourse of economic growth used by cities across the region in an explicit manner. UNESCO, UNCTAD, and the British Council are

all influential organisations in playing a role in the discourse of the Creative City, as indicated, through creative economy or creative industries policy and rhetoric, and not just on cities per se.

2.2 Creative City Discourse

It is an observational truism that the principal conduit of the Creative City policy discourse in Asia are three writers, all of whom are highly travelled as consultants and have maintained a significant influence on policymakers in the UK, EU, US and Asia. These are Charles Landry, Richard Florida, and John Howkins. Each has a distinctive professional history and has made an impact in Asia in very different ways: the aim of the first sections of this chapter is simply to register the principle theoretical ideas and policy proposals that have been so influential in our Southeast Asian context.

Landry is best known for his book *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* that was first published in 2000, and that largely because the book is compendium of three decades of experience and insights into the many cities and urban strategic frameworks designed for the purposes of research and consultancy (both Landry as individual and as leading member of the British cultural consultancy Comedia). While he has always travelled, since 2004 Landry has become known across Asia with public events and strategy advice for three cities in Japan: Osaka, Yokohama, and Tokyo. In 2005, South Korea (Gwangju and Seoul) and Taiwan (Taipei), and Singapore in 2006 were added to his East Asian list. Qingdao was the first city in China that had Landry given a talk in the Creativity World Forum in 2007, and by this time, many more cities in Japan and Korea had invited Landry for talks (Tottori, Beppu, Kitakyushu, and Busan for example). In 2008 Bangkok (Thailand) hosted Landry at the Creativity and Design Centre's important 'Unfolding Creativity' conference. At this time, introduced by the Far Eastern Creative Cities Network of the British Council, the city of Bandung (Indonesia) was introduced to the

concept of Creative City by Landry. In Penang (Malaysia), Landry delivered a noted address at the Khazanah Nasional Berhad, and influential projects by him since include 'Penang: Mapping the Creative Economy' (2012), 'Talented Taipei and the Creative Imperative' (2012), and 'Harnessing the Collective Imagination of Taipei' (2013). He also acted as a Seoul City Government Creative Administration in 2008.

Richard Florida is an American economist turned urbanist (or economic geographer), now internationally known for his Creative Class theory (even though he has attempted to move beyond a theory of social class — essentially, of labour and economic growth — to a more integrated theory of urban economic prosperity). *The Rise of the Creative Class* was published in 2002, and has since become as relevant to economists, industry researchers, the corporate and business sector, and policymakers for cities. MIT Technology Review named Florida the most influential thought leader in 2013 (Bosshart et al., 2013); TIME magazine recognised his Twitter feed as one of the 140 most influential in the world (Creative Class Group, 2016). He has delivered many addresses principally at seven cities in three Asian countries, including Seoul, Goyang, Incheon, Tokyo, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. It is in South Korea especially that his work is well-known and a part of the theoretical basis of the work of policymakers, urban planners, as well as scholars working in advisory capacities to cities. It is evident that Florida's company, the Creative Class Group (established in 2005), worked with the 'Global Metropolitan Forum of Seoul 2009' and the 'Asia Pacific Cities Summit' in Incheon, South Korea.

The last author of our triumvirate is John Howkins, who is largely a consultant but has been a significant business and think tank leader in the UK, along with university professor. Howkins landmark book *The Creative Economy* in 2001 became a unique bestseller across business enterprise, industry and innovation, and the arts, and a

continual reference point for the then evolving UK's New Labour government and its internationally influential approach to forging policies for creative industries. Howkins has worked as advisor and speaker in many Asian countries, namely China, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Thailand, being especially well-known in China for the development of China's creative economy as his work includes meetings with government and business leaders. In 2006, the Shanghai Municipal Government and the Shanghai School of Creativity, Shanghai Theatre Academy established the John Howkins Research Centre on the Creative Economy, where he now holds a position as a Vice Dean and visiting Professor and advisor to the Shanghai Creative Industries Association, the Shanghai Creative Industry Centre, and the Nanchang Government in Wuxi.

2.2.1 Landry's A Toolkit for Urban Innovators

The original publication of the *Creative City* in 1995 by Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini has made a significant impact on the urban policy sphere — not just in terms of strategy thinking (models and template) but policy ideas and conceptualisation (how people can think imaginatively about their urban environment and become involved as citizens in transforming the environment). While the now well documented industrial decline and reindustrialisation of the UK in the 1970s and 1980s generated a broad range of innovations in urban regeneration, it was arguably not until Landry and fellow Comedia member Franco Bianchini (a university professor) published *The Creative City* that the notion of a 'culture-led' urban regeneration became intelligible. Comedia, founded by Landry in 1978 (Landry and Bianchini, 1995), had developed many innovative approaches to policy renewal up to that time, and *The Creative City* bears their mark. While the 1995 publication was a short essay, an extended book version was produced in 2000 and with a second edition in 2008.

As a toolkit for urban innovators, *The Creative City* is presented as a 'practical' book. But on beginning to read it becomes evident that it is not exclusively addressing the policymaker, but a 'public', from artists to concerned citizens or activists to those in authority and working with policy. Thus, the book's democratic assumptions are evident (to the Western reader at least) as Landry's concept of the city is as an urban republic or 'polity', where the urban landscape is a place full of dilemmas and problems that should involve everyone who inhabits it. Nonetheless, the 'toolkit' is structured in a way that allows decision-makers to think, plan and act in a 'creative' way — defining the conditions of creativity along with its tangible benefits.

An appeal is made to the current state of industrial change — where the nature of work, places of work, shopping and leisure, public space and institutions, education, heritage and traditions, are all in a state of flux: opportunities exist, therefore, for collaborative action in shaping the environment in creative ways, one aim being to address the need for cities to create their own identity and uniqueness — to cultivate belonging and pride, productivity and prosperity, recognition and attractiveness (Landry, 2008). Identity is fundamental and so research questions are addressed in the four main parts of the book, considering aspects of creative city-making that (in historical terms) echo urban planning, cultural planning, and 'place-making' traditions of the past, both in Europe and the US. *The Creative City* is not an academic book, and so its references and sources are not immediately evident; Landry, however, specializes in forming highly synthetic ideas and then using them as a fulcrum to develop simple but original strategy approaches to specific and evident urban dilemmas — on culture, community, space, governance, design and identity. What kind of cities do we need as our regions and countries are being subject to entirely new global forces of change? The first part of *The Creative City*, 'urban ground shifts', sets the scene for the creative cities, tries to find out why some cities are successful, and some are not. The second part 'the dynamics of urban creativity' addresses

creativity in cities and essential foundations for a creative city. The third part 'a conceptual toolkit of urban creativity' presents the actual toolkit of how to make a creative city, including all efficient strategies and techniques. The final part 'the Creative City and beyond' asks what is next for cities, dedicating to issues of the future of cities and sustainability. All of these questions lead to an ultimate answer to making a creative city.

Landry's opening gambit is that "We cannot solve 21st-century problems with 19th-century mindsets" (Landry, 2008, p.xi). Cities need to be active and make themselves creative to "get on the radar screen" so that they can attract investors and visitors to their cities (Landry, 2008, p.xviii). Furthermore, he adds that 'brainpower' is now replacing 'brawn power' (Landry, 2008, p.xxxix). His concept of a 'city', therefore, is as an 'ecosystem' of human development — as human beings confront urgent needs, dilemmas and unforeseen change.

Landry (2008) appeals to policymakers under pressure to deliver economic development: "Why are some cities successful and some are not?" He states that "The great city has a clarity of purpose and it knows where it is going. It is a blend of hardware (its physical fabric like streets buildings and parks), software (its activity base like its enterprise, its cultural life or its shopping experiences), and 'orgware' (how it is organised, managed and governed)" (Landry, 2006a, n.p.). Yet, in cultural policy studies, 'great' or 'successful' city remains a contested term, as they signified the very different ways in which cities define their value and productivity. For example, for Richard Florida (2002, p.223-234), a great city for the creative people is a place that has numerous labour markets, lifestyle, social interaction, diversity, authenticity, identity, and quality of place. To answer the question, Landry (2008) emphasises on the importance of 'mindset', especially open-mindedness of people. People as agents of change need to be willing to learn, listen and take risks (ibid). Open-mindedness and capacity to listen, as Landry (2008) claims, are an essential condition

for creativity. With a change of mindset and open-mindedness, people will be able to find alternative ways and solutions to solve problems in their cities and to improve their quality of life (ibid). However, this is easier said than done. Mindsets of people are based on the culture of the society that they grew up in. Therefore, it is questionable how easy or how hard it is to change the mindsets of people. Landry (2008, p.196) also indicates in his book that "Creativity cannot be a driving force unless the bureaucratic mindset is overcome; without this truly creative people cannot be retained". Thus, in countries where the bureaucratic mindset is stronger than others, the Creative City approach could be implemented harder.

Furthermore, people are the central resource for cities and their development. Human resources, like skills and creativity, are the dynamic means by which ecosystems are created and all of the physical infrastructure of a city must be developed around that (and in terms of its design, architecture and cultural spaces, already express past human ecosystems). Where class, culture and institutions have, in the past, determined the internal economy of the urban ecosystem, more democratic means are now at our disposal. Indeed, the expansive global economy demands a widespread participation, investment in diversity and patronage of all social and cultural groups. A city will rise and fall on it using all its resources and assets and making their creative use pervasive throughout the city. Otherwise, change will not be substantial (i.e. not impact the actual urban economy itself, only select social enclaves).

The post-industrial market town of Huddersfield in the West Yorkshire region of England is one of Landry's early projects and a central case study in *The Creative City*. After the rapid growth of woollen textiles, engineering and chemicals industry, the city since 1980 faced problems with industrial contraction, restructuring and mass unemployment (Landry, 2008, p.79-87). In 1997, Huddersfield was chosen as a European Union Urban Pilot Project, resulting in Landry's

strategic contribution of the Creative Town Initiative (CTI). While the book itself represents Landry's perceived achievements, for us the significant points here are (i) Recognition: the city constructed an identity that served to attract and stimulate (both people and resources); (ii) Engagement: the model of change is one of participation and collaboration — a city is multifaceted and interrelated and no one group of people, not even government, possesses the knowledge and skills to affect substantive change; and (iii) Training: spaces and programmes emerged, revolving around knowledge and skills, that empowered people into roles, positions and abilities in an urban strategy context.

These features of the Creative City case studies are critical, as they relate to a central concept of urban creativity —the creative milieu. The milieu is obviously a group of people, but being creative it is collaborative, diverse, spread out, and as they are 'creative' they are action-based and so are defined in terms of their production (of 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructures — of spaces of experience and empowerment, and of a re-designed tangible environment or built environment: Landry, 2008, p.133). Clustering is vital in such creative milieu because it facilitates both people and organisations to remain interconnected in soft and hard ways, building trust and understanding, essential elements in making a creative city collaboratively (Landry, 2008). Networking and the network model of proximal relations are also important (Landry, 2008, p.xlvii).

After a decade of witnessing the Creative City concept circulation, Landry (2008) expressed his concern that this approach has now become overly general — while he remained diplomatic in not criticising any one city or appropriation, it was always a danger that the term would signify a policy trend that could become exploited. In fact, it is an implicit aim of this thesis, to define how flexible (and thus open to appropriation in any given context) that the Creative City has become. For Landry, 'creativity' was a difficult challenge, and signified

transformation at the centre of municipal government, with a willingness among a city's citizen to become active and politically astute, and for the design dimension of the creative industries to contribute their better knowledge in re-making the city as a creative space of possibility and inventive responses to new challenges (Landry, 2008, p.131). It was not necessarily so.

Indeed, in the final chapter of *The Creative City*, Landry (2008, p.266) presents the idea of 'learning city'. He argues that in the future the 'learning city' notion will be more powerful than that of the 'creative city'; however, creativity is more crucial for cities to face current challenges. But creativity is not a terminus; it is a means of transformation and route to other forms of urban sustainability. Glasgow was used as an example of a city that was once very successful from using culture to re-orientate the whole city, and this did not require making the arts or culture as a part of everything (Landry, 2008, p.106).

2.2.2 The Rise of the 'Creative Class'

Richard Florida's central impact is with his 2002 *The Rise of the Creative Class*, which, like Landry's *The Creative City* was annotated with short case examples, but unlike Landry, Florida uses economic data sets so as to provide material for evidence-based policymaking as well as for theory-building. The theory in question involves the identification of a new class structure — in this case, a new social class of workers who transcend previous categories of blue or white collar, working and managerial or middle class. The Creative Class might involve both and was defined more by sector and the role of creativity and knowledge in the formation of that new sector. Importantly, new sectors (from new design innovation, IT and other knowledge-based work) add up to a successful reindustrialisation after the decline of heavy industry in the 1970s-80s. Indeed, as a culmination of post-industrial re-invention, the new knowledge-based work was diverse

but the kinds of work that involved 'creativity' (synonymous with innovation, invention and general advancement or appearance of competitive advantage).

The Creative Class is where "its members engage in work whose function is to 'create meaningful new forms'" (Florida, 2002, p.68), which means they add exponential economic value through their creativity, and this has become internal to new fields of industrial development. Florida's book was, in part, successful as, like Landry, his audience was not targeted to a market segment of specific professional group. It was read by students, policymakers, local politicians, artists, entrepreneurs and no doubt many others. It proposed specific strategy measures for cities aspiring to economic success, but also put forward a grand new theory on the continued ascendancy of the liberal democratic West in the new global economy.

In 2005, Florida published *Cities and the Creative Class*, in part aiming to clarify his points in relation to critics (largely from urbanists) in response to the *Rise of the Creative Class*. In the latter, while his theory and analysis were socio-economic (certain kinds of groups can be identified economically, and these groups can be demonstrated to play a critical role in the national economy as it is overcoming huge challenges) — it amounted to a theory of cities. This was the great ambiguity in Florida's class theory, in that it effectively became an urban theory and arguably became more influential with urban and cultural policy makers than it did in industrial or economic policy. Later in 2005, *The Flight of the Creative Class* also aimed to tackle some major problems with the class thesis, in the assumption that the relation between geographic mobility and 'place' was both positive and stable in relation to economic growth. Florida made his theory of class nuanced and place-based, now explicitly constructing a useful strategy theory of economic growth for cities using mainly young educated people in certain fast advancing industries. Data could demonstrate that the industries that were now attracting the most

graduates, were doing so for a range of reasons endogenous (to do with the company and its offer of 'creative', exciting, fulfilling career advancement) and exogenous (to do with the place, lifestyle and cultural attractions). The competition for talent was becoming global but began with the local (Florida, 2005b, p.4): "wherever talent goes, innovation, creativity, and economic growth are sure to follow".

In 2008, the book *Who's Your City?* Florida appealed to the young workers he had written about but was now offering a set of questions and evidence on the economics of a place in terms of careers, industries and the choices young people need to make in beginning a career. As Florida (2002, p.xxix) observed in *The Rise of the Creative Class*, "the members of the Creative Class do not see themselves as a class – a coherent group of people with common traits and concerns". *Who's Your City?* Can be understood as offering that class an identity and self-understanding.

Florida's most well-known theoretical construct is his formulation of the urban conditions for the Creative Class — what are often taken to be empirical characteristics of a city. These are the '3T's' (technology, talent, tolerance), and are the themes by which Florida uses his socio-economic data (largely on employment) to create indices. For example, the so-called 'Gay Index' presents a data set that indicates a pattern of work and habitation suggesting that economic growth is more intense in places with a greater density of certain groups; in this case, a gay community would signify the presence of the urban condition of 'tolerance'. This supplemented the 'Melting Pot Index', demonstrating a connection between economic growth and the density of foreign-born residents. Then, the 'Talent Index' measures the comparative density of human capital in a region, (residents with a bachelor's degree or higher). A 'Bohemian Index' also measures talent but with a parameter around the cultural industries (writers, musicians and painters). Lastly, a 'High-Tech Index' demonstrates — along with

an 'Innovation Index' — that technology and its uses to advance boundaries, plays an evidential role in economic growth.

The theory of the '3T's' uses the most empirical data, and so is perhaps most understood by policymakers; however, Florida's 'creative capital theory' is probably more generally well-known, given its extensive application to a range of areas from education, urban planning and regional economy. Throughout *the Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002, p.223) Florida make reiterates the proposition that "regional economic growth is driven by the location choices of creative people – the holders of creative capital – who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas" (ibid). However, Florida's assertions are observational and based on certain parts of the USA free market economy, it implicates social capital theory and human capital theory in ways provocative to urban policymakers.

Traditional social capital theory (Robert Putnam, Harvard political scientist, for example) might identify intrinsic values of belonging, allegiance and community as central to regional economic growth and general prosperity. For Florida (2002, 2005a) traditional social formations and homogenous community exhibit barriers to entry and inhibiting factors to difference, innovation and breaking boundaries. Likewise, traditional human capital theory (Robert Lucas (1988) or Edward Glaeser (1998) perhaps) would hold that the educated are the driving force of regional growth. For Florida, education, qualifications and expertise in itself is insufficient: talent, engagement and motivation are central, and these are stimulated by creative environments of new industries. In these environments, traditional forms of professional identity, job satisfaction, authority hierarchies and career progression, are inhibitive of the kinds of atypical, critical and creative thought required in new industries. Therefore, regional urban growth must be reconsidered socially and in human labour — and the role of cities is central to this (Florida, 2002, p.223).

Testing his theory of place, Florida looks at the way 3T's work: the first T, 'technology', refers to "a function of both innovation and high technology concentrations in a region" (Florida, 2005a, p.37); and the indices Florida uses to measure his first T are Innovation Index and High-Tech Index. The second T is 'talent', which he means those people with a bachelor's degree and above (Florida, 2005a) and whose abilities are interrelated with technological development; using three indices, High-Tech Index, Innovation Index and Talent Index, Florida established a connection (ibid). The last T is 'tolerance', indicating openness to difference, being comfortable with diversity and thinking beyond what norm is or acceptable. To this the controversial 'Gay Index' was used, where being attractive to Gays was assumed to indicate generalised norms of social tolerance or approval of difference (Florida, 2002, p.255-256).

Florida's most general argument is, of course, that "creativity is the driving force of economic growth" (2002, p.xxvii). He claims that creativity has always been essential to the way we live and work (Florida, 2002, p.21), but is now constructed socially and economically quite differently: for "human creativity is multifaceted and multidimensional" (Florida, 2002, p.22) and thus requires flexible and extendable boundaries.

While the Creative Class concept relates to 'knowledge workers' (Peter Drucker and Fritz Machlup in the 1960s) or the 'X Class' (Paul Fussell, 1983), it is not defined by certain properties they possess, or cultural tastes and religious commitments, but economic function (what they are paid to do): "the way people organise themselves into social groupings and common identities based principally on their economic function. Their social and cultural preferences, consumption and buying habits, and their social identities all flow from this" (Florida, 2002, p.68). Florida (2002, 2005a) divides this economic group into two: creative professionals (any standard knowledge-based worker) and the Super-Creative Core (the professions where creativity is

internal and demanded — from arts, culture and entertainment, to design-based innovation industries, computer and mathematical occupations, architecture and engineering, life, physical and social science occupations, education, training and a range of others). What is significant for this thesis is the role of place — and how his theoretical observations and claims on economic growth have influenced a generation of urban policymakers, particularly in Asia.

While economic globalisation, digital technology and communications-based networks might mitigate against older geo-physical constraints of economic production, distribution and consumption (indeed collapse the distinction between the three classical categories of economics). It remains the case, that cities have become more significant as locations, platforms and brand signifiers of economic growth and opportunity (Florida, 2002, p.219). The clustering of firms and the clustering of creative people can be demonstrated as consistent characteristics of places of growth for Florida, and the increase in knowledge sharing, the positive benefits of co-location or 'spillovers' (Florida, 2005a, p.29) and the intrinsic need for face-to-face contact, trust, synergies and team work in creative-based labour remain significant. Referring to *The Rise of the Creative Class*, economist Edward Glaeser states that "the future of most cities depends on their being desirable places for consumers to live. As consumers become richer and firms become mobile, location choices are based as much on their advantages for workers as on their advantages for firms" (Glaeser, 2000; cited in Florida, 2002, p.259).

Florida (2002) argues that lifestyle interests play a significant role in the choice of occupation, and this means location. From focus groups and interviews, Florida (2002, p.259) asserted that young people highly value lifestyle amenities, even at the beginning of their career (where traditionally, the 'job' would be a priority). For Florida (2002, p.223-234), creative people value locations with thick labour markets, lifestyle, social interaction, diversity, authenticity, identity and quality

of place. Diversity and authenticity interest Florida as they are social as much as cultural as much as economic and so interrelated with regional or city-based growth. Diversity speaks against the conservative resistance to immigration or economic migration and multiculturalism, and authenticity is opposite of 'generic' (Florida, 2002, p.228). Extrapolating from the data, a successful city is open to a range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, rich in lifestyle factors and choices, different in its identity and aesthetics, rich with cultural choices, and incrementally attracting new business, startups and innovative corporate firms.

2.2.3 The Embryonic Creative Economy and How People Make Money from Ideas

John Howkins is known primarily as the author of the 2001 bestseller, *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas* (republished in 2002, 2007 and 2013) and now a seminal statement on the concept and basic theoretical understanding of creativity and creative industries. The book's concept revolves around the relationship between creativity and economics as well as the creative practices of creative firms. These two concepts are not new, but the nature and extent of the relationship between them are new. He argues throughout the book that we are living in an economic age when these two combines, and need to be combined to create more value, as well as wealth (Howkins, 2001). For this to happen, Howkins (2001) states that creativity needs to be converted into capital, or what he calls 'creative capital'. He observes, "Economists define 'capital' as something which is not, or not only, valued for current use but is an investment for the future" (Howkins, 2001, p.199). Creativity is like a capital asset since creativity can itself be cultivated and grown and turned to a range of creative production (either goods or services). Creativity, for Howkins, is essentially ideas and the use of ideas — people with ideas are now more powerful than people with machines, and they are possibly more powerful than those that who own

machines (Howkins, 2001, p.ix), i.e. the traditional owners of the means of production. For ideas can transform the production process itself, as creativity is the ability to generate something new, either by generating something new or something from nothing, or giving a new character to something. It is not, essentially, a necessary or necessarily an economic activity (it can be non-monetary or purely personal); but today, our economy is seeing creativity as one of its driving forces.

As Andrew Curry points out, consumer needs have changed in recent decades from functional and practical matters to well-being and personal fulfilment (Curry, 2000). Howkins points out how in the West up to 20% of average income is now spent on non-necessary pleasure-based activities, often more than what they spent on housing or food (Howkins, 2001, p.xv-xvi). In fact, economically, creativity is re-aligning and re-defining the necessary and non-necessary; leisure and culture are becoming needs. Howkins also makes a significant observation that concurs with Landry (2008) and Florida (2002) whereby the raw material of the creative economy must be located in human talent, and by implication involving an economy's relation to the education system and levels of literacy in society more generally. It is the 'talent' to turn ideas and creativity into saleable products (Howkins, 2001, p.213), which, for Howkins, signifies a successful interconnection of education, society and economy.

In relation to the application of 'creative economy' as a policy model, Howkins (2018) is more equivocal: he indicates that although the UK is indeed a working model of the creative economy, generating significant practices and techniques, every country nonetheless needs to create their own model given their evident differences. 'Economy' cannot be purely abstracted from society. Governments therefore need to undergo a thought process, considering what they do well and how other places around the world are doing it. In a neutral way, Howkins is not averse to governments borrowing part of policies or

techniques if they think are suited to their own culture or cities. However, for Howkins (2001, p.125-165) the primary concerns for creative economy is design, production and distribution — not places or even organisations. The priority therefore is on managing creativity (physical products and intellectual property) and on the importance of types of people in the creative economy.

It is in his latest book *Creative Ecologies: Where Thinking is a Proper Job* (2010) that Howkins is more engaged with the place-based nature of creative economy, and it is here that he states “Cities have always been the most visible and most concentrated arenas for creativity and innovation” (Howkins, 2010, p.77). Place, for Howkins (2010), tends to be limited to circumstances, which, he suggests, makes people confident about being creative, whether it is a workplace, firm, organisation, or a city neighbourhood. He introduces the term ‘ecology’, which is not theoretically explained so much as a descriptive noun; he proposes four factors that make up a ‘creative ecology’, which is a central characteristic feature of the successful components (or distinct industries) within a creative economy: these are, change, diversity, learning, and adaptation. Cities that score high on these four factors (as indicators), and, therefore, they are ‘prime energy exchangers’ (p.81), and according to his creative economy idea, cities attract people who are both producers and buyers, which generate input and output for the process of the creative economy.

The rise of the creative economy as a major policy option for urban economy also involves labour and the place of labour — and Howkins becomes more attuned to the relation between the ‘how’ and ‘where’ people work and how this relation, as Jane Jacobs once explained, shapes and re-shape cities (Howkins, 2010; Jacobs, 1969). Many cities around the world, such as Los Angeles, London, Shanghai, and Tokyo, have creative ecologies to allow for the widespread impact of creative thinking and have even changed for a stronger development of the creative economy (Howkins, 2007). Echoing Florida (2002) in

the creative ecosystem, creative people claim the right to be different by using free speech and free expression, and these are internal to their learning, production and use of ideas.

2.3 The Strategic Lexicon of the Creative City as Cultural Policy

These main arguments and claims shape this research topic of creative cities in Southeast Asia. Firstly, the mindsets of people in that region are different from that of European cities, which are most cited as Landry's examples. Culture and way of life need to be taken into consideration and be scrutinised. Secondly, people are an asset to cities. This point emphasises the importance of people and that developing people and giving them a chance should be included in the plan to build a creative city. Thirdly, a space like the creative milieu has played a significant role in the construction of a creative city. The creative environment enables people to think freely, exchange ideas and plan for a better living condition. Fourthly, creativity inherited from the past is considered as a valuable asset. Combining old and new things help developing cities faster. Traditional knowledge, like crafts and folk songs, in Southeast Asian cities, can add value to cities and create uniqueness. Lastly, learning is important for cities. Learning helps cities growing, which will ultimately lead to sustainability.

On that note, it is evident what kind of places would attract the Creative Class; however, some places are still trapped, and Florida (2002) provides two main reasons why. The first reason being, a place has wrong strategy priorities. Many places still stick with the conventional wisdom that replacing old things with new things is a way to develop an area. By doing so, the place becomes generic, which is the effect of globalisation and capitalism. Chiang Mai, one of the case studies, which is well-known for its rich culture, had faced this problem when new shopping malls were built. Locals were afraid that Chiang Mai would become 'a second Bangkok'. There were protests in the city, but nothing could be done. The second possibility why some places 'get trapped' is that they get trapped by their past (Florida, 2002,

p.303). These places do not open to new ideas and new people. This kind of places drives the Creative Class away. Florida (2002, p.304-314) gave an example of Pittsburgh in his book that despite having all the 3T's, Pittsburgh is still trapped by the culture of the society and attitude of people. The main problem seems to be that its culture is divided into highbrow and lowbrow, and only highbrow culture got supported and funded by the government. Therefore, Florida (2002, p.293-297) proposes the idea of 'people climate'. This climate emphasises openness and diversity of the place, and this would ideally help to reinforce low barriers to entry.

For Florida (2002, p.223-234), creative people value locations, thick labour markets, lifestyle, social interaction, diversity, authenticity, identity and quality of place. Diversity and authenticity are the two values that will be highlighted on since, according to Florida (2002), diversity is listed among the most important factors by participants in the focus group and interview. Authenticity is also very significant as it shows the uniqueness of the place, and that is something that the creative cities in the Southeast Asian region are looking for.

The purpose of this and final section to this Literature Review is to determine the primary components of the Creative City policy notion, which, in the West, will be considered as internal to the policy concept. These components will be necessarily considered or implicated in any specific application of the policy, whether or not they are eventually deemed appropriate to a specific city. For example, the first 'component' identified is 'creative industries'. Not every city or place that adopts and adapts the Creative City notion may have 'industries' or require an explicit policy for such; nonetheless, it is evident that 'creative industries' is internal to the policy notion of a Creative City and must usually be considered at policy inception or design stage. For the sake of fluency, references will not be added to every single term or detail when observations and descriptive analysis is made and used to make general points or claims.

2.3.1 Creative and Cultural Industries

Arts and culture now play a role in policies for city growth and development. *The Cultural Industries* by David Hesmondhalgh was a seminal text, equivalent to Howkins in 'field-building' a new area of knowledge. Hesmondhalgh's (2013) work generally plays a major role in this field research, as it clarifies how the cultural (and creative) industries can be subject to cultural analysis (and how cultural analysis can still attend to economic and sociological matters). Changes and trends in the cultural industries are explored by Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.403), who takes a materialist and historical approach — useful to interdisciplinary scholars. Regarding cultural policy, governments throughout the world have adapted their industrial as well as cultural policies in an orientation we could identify as 'marketisation' or neoliberalisation. Cultural goods altogether have become more significant to an economy, particularly if integrated with other industrial processes (education, tourism, digital media, and so on). Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.404-405) argues that the cultural industries are growing in modern economies, but perhaps not as great as global policymakers and commentators claim, and not as unique: for current developments are an extension of longer-term processes of industrialisation and commodification of culture (ibid). Moreover, he indicates a bifurcation in the growing knowledge discourse in the field, between those who emphasise its uniqueness through attending to new forms of knowledge, information, planning and design (for example Lash and Urry, 1994), and those who argue that the cultural industries have become more like other industries (for example Padioleau, 1987).

Hesmondhalgh (2013) evaluates continuity and change in the cultural industries, attending to the growth of large corporations, new networks of circulation, and the persistent difficulties facing producers outside the core areas of cultural production (such as access to markets). Moreover, there persists a geographical concentration of power, for both industries and markets (the major cities, for example).

Concerning digitalisation and the internet, inequalities in access and control, commercialisation and unpaid work, all persist largely unresearched or subject to policy. While the commodification of culture is something that cannot be avoided, there are contexts for potential change, including responses to political-economic change in the form of the neoliberal reaction to the Long Downturn, change in business strategies, internationalisation and organisational innovations. Hesmondhalgh (2013) asserts the importance of cultural workers as a socio-political issue that allows the cultural researcher access to issues of prior significance only to economists.

Australian Terry Flew's book, *The Creative Industries: Culture and Policy* (2012) has become equally seminal to the field, albeit focuses on the creative industries as a cultural policy phenomenon as much as an economic development. Covers various academic disciplines, creative industries implicate cultural studies, economics, geography and policy studies, and regarding cities and urbanism, Flew (2012, p.138) underlines the significance of cities as centres of 'capitalist modernity', which is in part key to understanding the rise of creativity. Cities are places of culture but also business clustering; they are urban centres but also sites of social diversity. Flew (2012) indicates the benefits of both, and how the rise of the creative industries are indicative of new cultural, social and urban developments — not just obvious economic ones. These include industrial innovation and collaboration by very different industries, but also the way diversity can facilitate the mobility of ideas, skills and knowledge that drive cultural as well as economic growth.

2.3.2 Urban Place-making

Urban place-making is an American and European tradition responding to the challenges of the modern industrialised city, aiming to prioritise social community and making habitable places that put people and lifestyle first notwithstanding obvious economic

requirements. How we define a successful urban place has, of course, remained an ongoing debate among town planners, city policymakers, architects and urban designers, for a long time before these professional identities existed. Some scholars, such as Cullen (1961), place strong emphases on physicality, while others, such as Alexander (1979) or Lynch (1960), stress the psychology of a place — where experience is relative to an individual's socioeconomic position. Few theorists have bridged the divide between advocates of physical urban morphology, design and structure and the experiential (i.e. the human subject). Jane Jacobs' (1961) classic *Death and Life of Great American Cities* criticised orthodox city planning, grounded as it was on civil engineering and the city as 'economic function'; through her writings and activism she introduced new principles of city planning and rebuilding whose influence spread to Europe, and through new urban movements (like the Creative City) around the world. Her priority was a mixture of primary land use, intensity, the permeability of the urban form and a mixture of building types, ages, sizes and conditions (Jacobs, 1961). Later, notable urbanists influenced by Jacobs, such as Gehl (1989) and Cook (1980), expanded on this hybrid understanding of cities as urban spaces animated by the dynamics of street life, communities, new business enterprise and cultural activity. In the US, the successor to Jacobs was, arguably, Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (1995) sets out a systematic explanation on the social and economic conditions of a vibrant urban culture — and importantly, how vibrant urban cultures are also creative economically prosperous places. Thus, it has become a truism of the Creative City discourse that the successful urban place should combine the design of physical space and buildings, along with the human experiential dimension and social or community activity (Montgomery, 1998). Montgomery, in his seminal article for the *Journal of Urban Design*, "Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design" (1998), systematised the current principles of urban placemaking in terms of social activity, image, and form. For cities to grow in every dimension

(socially, economically and structurally), these dimensions should be triangulated in policy and practice.

In Europe, the European Commission's *Green Paper on the Urban Environment* (1990) was the main publication that represented a growing break with orthodox top down city planning as it has developed since the turn of the century (also reflecting urban research that had been growing in the Council of Europe). The Green Paper favours a 'holistic' approach to urban development, where strategies for environmental sustainability are balanced with economic development, where importance is attributed to generating and protecting a distinctive sense of place in the social populace, and quality of life as essential for all citizens in the diverse and multi-functional society. Further to this, European cities have normalised the use of cultural policies to respond to challenges that were once either purely economic or purely social, such as social exclusion, unemployment, inward investment, city marketing, and so on (Grodach and Silver, 2013).

2.3.3 Culture-led Regeneration

Culture-led regeneration is a pioneering UK term and set of urban development techniques, which are as political as economic. It has also used the arts, culture, and creative industries in strategic ways, appropriate to the scale, social composition and local character of a place. While it does not represent one form of urban development, it represents a general 'approach', where a place (a city, district, dock or marina, industrial factory site, and so on) is salvaged, re-constructed and with imaginative and sophisticated use of existing resources, is made as appealing to local people as industry as investors. In other words, unlike many Asian cities, older buildings and sites are not razed or obliterated and then serve as mere platforms for something completely new or of a different function. Nonetheless, according to Yeoh (2005), urban regeneration has become more common in Asian

cities. This is significant, as since the mid-1990s, and the pioneering work of British consultancy Comedia (founded by Charles Landry in 1978), mainstream urban regeneration gained a sub-discipline of 'culture-led' urban regeneration: the provision of facilities, spaces and landmarks for culture and creative industries, can play a strategic role in initiating urban development (consolidating an identity, a history, a place of work, popular place of leisure and social activity, and so on).

British government Minister for Culture Chris Smith's (2000) renowned book *Creative Britain* celebrated culture-led regeneration for its social as well as industrial impact. While the measurable impacts were not entirely substantial, a new government priority on local economy and on cities had emerged in the mid-1990s even under a Conservative administration (such as the Core Cities initiative of 1995), and continued apace under the New Labour administration (1997-2010), where the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (1999-2011) worked with the new office of Deputy Prime Minister in pioneering public policies and strategic plans for urban space, cities and public buildings, which became internationally influential. They were all concurrently developing the principle of 'public-private partnerships', which involved private equity investors, business stakeholders, civil society and local authorities and representatives in using market forces for capacity-building the public realm and society as it did industry and business. By the year 2000 and the vast investment in Millennium celebrations, many of which were cultural facilities or cultural additions to the urban infrastructure (parks, plazas, bridges, monuments, concert halls, galleries, community centres, and many more), town planners were routinely understanding how the visual quality, identity, leisure opportunities and social diversity of a city or urban space, could be a condition for investment, retail, visitors and economic growth generally. The work of Richard Florida (2002), as noted above, seemed to confirm what many town planners had learned by practice, and that a relation between cultural inputs and

social and economic outputs, could be facilitated by urban regeneration.

Culture-led regeneration has, of course, been criticised by scholars. Stevenson (2004) argues that while urban regeneration was innovative, its basis in older practices of cultural planning uses culture according to a set of defined political and governmental objectives — whereas culture only evolves through being dynamic, flexible and ‘situational’. Moreover, the ‘culture’ in culture-led regeneration is a register of achievement that does not touch most of the population of a given place: he asserts that the very concept of culture-led regeneration is derived from a political vision, which itself generates “... no language for discussing the extent to which the ability of the top of ‘splinter off’ from society actually depends on the structural ‘exclusion’ of the bottom” (Stevenson, 2004, p.126). Culture has been defined in terms of economic function while ignoring its role in social reproduction (Miles and Paddison, 2005).

Sharon Zukin (1995) argued that a culture-led development of the city could directly facilitate the problem of social exclusion. According to Zukin (1995, p.1), “Culture is... a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolises ‘who belongs’ in specific places”. Since city branding and culture-led development in a city are a complex and distinct strategic tool, it is strategic organisations like government or the business sector who generate such strategies. Cities are complex entities, and it is questionable whether they can be subject to branding, as a corporation or a product. Citizens act as “passive receivers of culture rather than being empowered to shape cultures” (Miles, 2005, p. 896). In this way, a local voice in the city is systematically ignored.

Notable urbanist Allen J. Scott (2004) assesses the increasing role of cultural production in contemporary cities. From shopping malls, theatres, shops and cafés, the aesthetic landscape is expanding, and

once commercial enterprises are utilising the aesthetics of culture and artistic techniques: cities are becoming profoundly cultural spaces. Moreover, the relation between cultural production and spaces consumption is intimate. Brenda Yeoh (2005) observes that in Southeast Asia, approaches to city planning has integrated a range of the UK and European urban regeneration techniques, and is finely attuned to the incorporation of aesthetics within this — public art, architecture, public amenities, leisure and public spaces, new museums and galleries, universities and sports facilities, and so on.

2.3.4 Global City

The global city was a neologism coined by Saskia Sassen in the early 1990s. As an American-Dutch sociologist, Sassen (1991) indicated that the world is now being governed and determined in terms of markets, economic output and prosperity, by key cities — the global cities. These are not just any powerful city but have a crucial function in regional or global governance, as a transportation hub and site of cross-border networks, and a space of social diversity (visitors, immigration, and so on). For Sassen (2005), flows of capital, labour, goods, raw materials and tourists are all components in the cross-border economic growth processes that mean that global cities are increasingly autonomous of their country or even national government, who have to allow them a certain policy autonomy. With capital flows stimulated by digitisation, digital media, privatisation, deregulation, FDI (foreign direct investment), the increasing locational demands (facilities, labour, resources) of international and multi-national corporations, the growth of networked cross-border dynamics between these global cities involve serious political, social and cultural implications.

However, the global economy has evolved since the mid-1990s, and it is now common to see 'secondary' cities or small cities feature the characteristics of global cities. Even mid-size cities have become a

strategic site for the transnationalisation of labour and the formation of translocal communities and identities. With the emphasis on the capital, a sense of powerlessness among local actors can also emerge (Sassen, 2005); however, as the global city phenomenon seems to give way to a more pervasive 'globalisation of the city' phenomenon, new sites for urban politics and social engagement have been made possible. The concept of the global city still presents a critical emphasis on questions of power and inequality, which become central to all forms of urban development.

2.3.5 City Brand

Most of the scholarly literature on city branding, arguably, assumes a significant role for governing authorities. Indeed, Zhang and Zhao (2009) argue as follows:

While city authorities have their own aspirations and in most cases are responsible for the implementation of city branding, people communicate their experience with the city on various occasions and in various forms, acting as “ambassadors” to represent the city. People often translate their perceptions (imagery, feelings, evaluations and judgments) into their own understandable identity of the city. City branding should convey both the intention of city authorities and the experience of people. If the city's identity and core values are incongruent with what can be experienced by city residents and visitors, there is a great risk that city branding would consist of rather lofty values that are not accepted by the general public (p.246).

This indicates a paradox at the heart of the very concept of a city brand identity. The designed brand scheme, accompanying destination marketing strategy, and the articulation of the value proposition (what the city is offering) is almost always grounded in a conception of the market as beyond the city itself (people outside, visitors or investors). As an example of fast-urban policy, Mould (2015) argues that such city branding can be understood as a form of Gramscian hegemony, or

way of politically colonising a city without direct or physical force. A city is made to function according to a new spectrum of beliefs and values on what it is and for.

Arguably emerging in New York City with the slogan 'I love New York' (in 1977 by designer Milton Glaser), by the mid-1980s many cities across the world were finding ways of conveying a visual message or identity. Of immediate relevance here is Graeme Evans (2005) criticism of the immediate homogenisation generated by hard branding, which became a normative feature in all forms of urban regeneration in Europe in the 1980s. Evans (2003, p.417) compares the hard branding of a city as "a form of *Karaoke* architecture where it is not important how well you can sing, but that you do it with verve and gusto". A most notable case study of hard branding is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, where a single piece of architecture became a globally circulated image, resulting in a de facto city brand identity: by the mid-1990s, 40% of visitors to Bilbao were motivated by the one building, and only 5% of the 40% were interested in the art collection within the building (Stern et al., 1995). Some might argue that it does not matter why people come to the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum, but that economic growth was a measurable effect of the regeneration strategy of which the new museum was a part. However, while the museum attendance declines, it remained a renowned phenomenon — the 'Bilbao effect' (Evans, 2003, p.433) — and inspired a generation of local developers and town planners. The fact that local people, citizens and residents, were visibly not engaged, and that the new iconic, flagship, and highly international, institution did not represent a 'culture' belonging to Bilbao, was less significant than the said economic growth initially stimulated by the city's new international profile and new revenue stream (of the visitor economy: *ibid*).

Evans (2004) adds that with hard branding, there is an intrinsic lack of interconnection between flagship cultural projects and local businesses and people. Instead of using the new revenue funds to support and develop local cultural and creative industries, it is used on

other high-end priorities (Evans, 2004), and a form of decision-making within urban planning that generates distrust and disengagement in the populace —the opposite of what Landry (2008) argued for as the collaborative citizen action central to the original Creative City. Moreover, ‘brand decay’, with the example of the Scottish city of Glasgow, will generate further complexities and identity crises. Though hugely successful during its European City of Culture year in 1990, events and cultural landmarks do not substitute for substantive decision-making for long term urban development. In just one year after the ECOC, visitor numbers had dropped (Griffiths, 2006, p.418) and the city was forced to revisit its assumptions. Relevant to this is Ooi (2011), who argues that city brand campaigns can destroy the originality of a city (exemplifying Chinatown in Singapore: Ooi, 2011, p.59). Locals residents can become aliens in their own city, as a city is re-designed in terms of its services, facilities and public spaces, as a visitor destination or a place designed for the strongest revenue channel (ibid).

2.3.6 Creative Clusters

In the field of creative industries, clusters in cities have become an object of fascination, leading to assumptions on their effectiveness (Porter, 1998, 2000; Flew, 2013). Rooted in older theories of industrial agglomeration and even the nineteenth century business district (Marshall, 1879). Flew’s (2013) explanation of the relationship between creative industries and cities or urban centres includes two important frameworks: the ‘cluster script’ and the ‘creative script’. The former dates back to Alfred Marshall’s work where positive externalities arise from a clustering of related firms and industries in a particular location (Michael Porter of Harvard Business School), supported a now famous tenet of Marshall — now remembered as spillover benefits. Porter (1998, 2000) claimed that the cluster arrangement provided competitive advantage to firms —productivity gains (enabling access, information and knowledge transfer),

innovation opportunities (through interaction and collaboration), and business formation, or an orientation to new opportunities (ibid).

O'Connor (2007) identifies regional clusters and their embedded networks as a further phenomenon in this framework: facilitating a close interconnection between culture and urban life, Marshall's (1890) notion of 'atmosphere' adds to competitive advantage a local, tacit knowledge and social interaction dimension that is particularly relevant to understanding how and why creative industries usually develop in clusters. Clustering enables networks which Kelly (1994) and Castell (1996) point out that "open structures are able to expand without limits and integrate new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network. A network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, susceptible to innovating without threatening its balance" (Kelly, 1994; Castell, 1996; cited in Verwijnen and Lehtovuori, 1999, p.18). Moreover, networks tend to function bottom-up, and that is more powerful and more important than being directed by macro-economic policymaking.

Many cities now use cluster policies as independent tools of urban development, adapting them to the creative industries. However, Flew (2013, p.3) argues that "a blurring of the distinctiveness of arts and culture into entertainment, leisure and service industries; possibly contradictory policy agendas between economic development and social inclusion; instances of 'capture' of the urban renewal agenda by private real estate interests; and the possibility that the drive to develop distinctive creative clusters has the paradoxical effect of promoting greater urban homogeneity". As Kate Oakley (2004) observes, cluster policies have become 'cookie-cutter' approaches, for when hard infrastructures are built, such as a creative hub, they are used to 'develop' the creative industries in ways that do not cohere with the dynamics of the social environment around it.

2.3.7 Creative Networks and the Networked City

Technically, a 'network' term could be used when two or more independent cities cooperate to achieve their policy aims, or simply increase the scope or economies of scale in particular areas (often aided by transport and communications infrastructure: Batten, 1995). Creative network cities, however, are identified so as they place a higher priority on knowledge-based activities, include research, education and the creative arts. The benefits for these network cities will be from reciprocity, knowledge exchange and the unplanned creativity that is generated from cooperative mechanisms that are the task of policy. Batten (1995) foresees that more network cities will go beyond national borders during the next millennium, and other scholars of urban development have acknowledged the transnational processes that are becoming internal to city development (Batten, 1995). Hohenberg and Lees (1985) introduced the notion of a network system of cities in 1985 when they focused on the idea of nodality in a network. The various nodes of a network city form a unique and flexible exchange environment, and this can happen at varying scales. One scale is where a series of cities are connected on global level (perhaps not the whole city, but key areas of each city, for example, business, creative clusters, or logistic hubs (Mitchell, 2003). A second 'scale' may be the connection of cities on a metropolitan level, where one city is connected to its surrounding cities to compete on a global level (ibid). A third scale is the urban network: within a single city technology and internet can be used to interconnect places within each city (ibid). Nowadays, the network connectivity of the city has become a routine concern but has implications for cultural policy that are still evolving and have potential.

Conclusion

The Creative City has become a hybrid and multifaceted policy discourse, absorbing or encompassing all of these historic research and policy developments. The Creative City has become a policy with a global reputation, and so large it exceeds any one short study.

Leading global agencies and organisations collaborate or contribute to Creative City projects, and while this thesis mentions them (above) there is little scope for explaining the vast range of developmental work conducted in relation to culture, creativity and cities by the UNCTAD Creative Economy Programme, UNESCO Creative Cities Network, and British Council Creative Economy.

The 'lexicon' of the Creative City discourse has been summarised in terms of the contextual or broader academic discourses of urbanism, planning, urban sociology and new creative industries studies. This spectrum of subjects are not harmoniously interconnected but form a diverse resource of influential reference points — a lexicon of theoretical terms that are essential in understanding the specific policy expressions of Creative City. While each ASEAN city will define and design each Creative City appropriate to specific economic aims, its policy design will invariably consider the historical lexicon of creative and cultural industries, place-making, city brand and destination marketing, creative clusters and networks, and economic globalisation.

Chapter 3 The ASEAN Policy Context

This chapter explores the dynamics of social and economic conditions and the adoption of the Creative City discourse in the East and Southeast Asian region by studying the social and economic environment of the region. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will be assessed as an influential governance organisation, and this will be followed by the exploration of the Creative City networks in ASEAN and major examples of creative city policies across Asia. The second half of the chapter will focus on the economic conditions of the Southeast Asian Cities, questioning how the term 'neoliberal' is suited as an analytical category and appropriate to our study of Creative City policy appropriation and adaptation.

3.1 The Constitution of ASEAN

On 8 August 1967, five Foreign Ministers – namely, Thanat Khoman from Thailand, Narciso R. Ramos from the Philippines, Adam Malik from Indonesia, Tun Abdul Razak from Malaysia, and S. Rajaratnam from Singapore – signed a document at the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Bangkok, Thailand. By signing that document, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was founded, and the document that they signed has henceforth been known as the 'ASEAN Declaration' or the *Bangkok Declaration*.

In this short document, containing just five articles, the Association for Regional Cooperation was declared to be known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the aims and purposes of which is then clearly stated: the association was founded for the acceleration of the economic growth, social progress and cultural development, the promotion the regional peace and stability, and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. The association also aims to cooperate in the economic, social, cultural, technical, educational and other fields, including providing training and research facilities in those

mentioned spheres in order to raise the living standards of its peoples. Moreover, ASEAN is concerned with Southeast Asian academic studies, research, and maintaining close cooperation with international and regional organisations. As started with five founding nations, ASEAN aims to be open to all states (all 11) in the Southeast Asian region that will hopefully be heading towards the same aims and purposes.

The initial conception of the founding of ASEAN emerged from Thailand brokering reconciliation among Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines over serious disagreements. It, then, appeared to the four countries that it was time for regional cooperation, or the future of the region would remain uncertain. Thanet Khoman (1992), Thailand's Foreign Minister, broached the idea of forming an organisation for regional cooperation with the Indonesian Presidium Minister for Political Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Adam Malik. Malik agreed and planned to talk with the Indonesian government and also to normalise the relationship with Malaysia after the confrontation; while, the Thai Foreign Office prepared a draft charter of the new institution. Everything was ready within a few months. Khoman, then, invited the two former members of the Association for Southeast Asia (ASA)¹, which were Malaysia and the Philippines, and Indonesia, a key member, to a meeting in Bangkok. Singapore also sent S. Rajaratnam, who was the Foreign Minister, to discuss joining the new set-up association. Although the new organisation was planned to comprise only the ASA members plus Indonesia, Khoman states that Singapore's request was favourably considered (Khoman, 1992).

In early August 1967, the five Foreign Ministers met in a relatively isolated coastal town, Bang Saen, located less than a hundred

¹ The Association for Southeast Asia (ASA) included the former Federation of Malaya, the Philippines and Thailand. ASA ran from July 1961 through August 1967. The main aim of ASA was for economic cooperation in Southeast Asia (Pollard, 1970).

kilometres southeast of Bangkok, for four days to negotiate over the document informally. It was not an easy process, but eventually, they signed the Declaration at Thailand's Department of Foreign Affairs. Each one of them offered a speech, opening with the Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Narciso Ramos who stated that "The fragmented economies of Southeast Asia... (with) each country pursuing its limited objectives and dissipating its meagre resources in the overlapping or even conflicting endeavours of sister states carry the seeds of weakness in their incapacity for growth and their self-perpetuating dependence on the advanced, industrial nations. ASEAN, therefore, could marshal the still untapped potentials of this rich region through more substantial united action" (Ramos, 1967; cited in Flores and Abad, 1997). Ramos stressed on the concept of unity and benefits of coalescing as one association.

Adam Malik, Presidium Minister for Political Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, added his vision of developing Southeast Asia into "a region which can stand on its own feet, strong enough to defend itself against any negative influence from outside the region" (Malik, 1967; cited in Flores and Abad, 1997). Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, agreed on the same point mentioning that countries in Southeast Asia need to recognise their responsibility towards their countries, as well as preventing external intervention and inference as he stated that "We the nations and peoples of Southeast Asia must get together and form by ourselves a new perspective and a new framework for our region. It is important that individually and jointly we should create a deep awareness that we cannot survive for long as independent but isolated peoples unless we also think and act together and unless we prove by deeds that we belong to a family of Southeast Asian nations bound together by ties of friendship and goodwill and imbued with our own ideas and aspirations and determined to shape our own destiny" (Razak, 1967; cited in Flores and Abad, 1997). He added that "with the establishment of ASEAN, we have taken a firm and a bold step on that road" (ibid).

S. Rajaratnam, a former Minister of Culture of multi-cultural Singapore (at that time served as the first Foreign Minister of Singapore), added on an essential point that if ASEAN would succeed, then its member states would have to think in two levels: national level and regional level. He argued that “We must think not only of our national interests but posit them against regional interests: that is a new way of thinking about our problems. And these are two different things, and sometimes they can conflict. Secondly, we must also accept the fact, if we are really serious about it, that regional existence means painful adjustments to those practices and thinking in our respective countries. We must make these painful and difficult adjustments. If we are not going to do that, then regionalism remains a utopia” (Rajaratnam, 1967; cited in Flores and Abad, 1997).

S. Rajaratnam also expressed the same concern as the Indonesian Presidium Minister for Political Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister that “We want to ensure a stable Southeast Asia, not a balkanised Southeast Asia. And those countries who are interested, genuinely interested, in the stability of Southeast Asia, the prosperity of Southeast Asia, and better economic and social conditions, will welcome small countries getting together to pool their collective resources and their collective wisdom to contribute to the peace of the world” (Rajaratnam, 1967; cited in Flores and Abad, 1997).

Apart from the aims and purposes of ASEAN as stated in the Declaration, the concerns from these leaders emphasise the need for countries in the Southeast Asian region to prevent foreign intervention while the Member Countries concentrated on nation-building (Beeson, 2009, p.18). After the establishment of ASEAN in August 1967, there were some important milestones for ASEAN that need mentioning: the first milestone was the first ASEAN Summit convened in Bali, Indonesia in February 1976. The ASEAN Summit is the main meeting of ASEAN leaders where they discuss the direction of the association

and the Southeast Asian region. Apart from being its first-ever summit, the ASEAN member states have adopted the fundamental principles, as contained in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) of 1976. These fundamental principles are:

- (1) Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations;
- (2) The right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion;
- (3) Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another;
- (4) Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful manner;
- (5) Renunciation of the threat or use of force; and
- (6) Effective cooperation among themselves.

These fundamental principles are also known in political parlance as the 'ASEAN Way'. According to Fukushima (2011, p.227), "The ASEAN Way depends on consensus-building rather than coercion, thereby creating a space that is comfortable for all Member States, particularly those reluctant to adapt their approach". The ASEAN Way has made regional policy implementation more palatable for all. However, many scholars see that the ASEAN Way could be an obstacle to greater economic integration, and it could slow down the process of regional development (Quah, 2017; cited in ASEAN Insight, 2017). One explanation could be that ASEAN countries place national issues as the priority ahead of community priority. "Instead of making the hard decisions that will secure the region's prosperity, ASEAN governments turn to the ASEAN Way and delay implementing necessary policies" (ASEAN Insight, 2017, n.p.). If that is the case, ASEAN could be in trouble. Pitsuwan, a former ASEAN secretary, proposes the idea of 'flexible engagement', which presents a challenge to established ways of conducting ASEAN business and opening up to the possibility that each state might publicly criticise the policies of others (Beeson, 2009, p.26-27).

ASEAN has also have joint meetings with other countries and organisations, for example, the first ASEAN-Europe Economic Community Ministerial meeting held in Brussels in September 1978, the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which focuses on the issue of security interdependence in the Asia-Pacific region in 1994, the first meeting of ASEAN Plus Three (China, Japan and South Korea) and the first ASEAN-China Summit in December 1997, and the first meeting of the ASEAN Plus Six (China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand) in December 2005.

On the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN, the ASEAN Leaders agreed on adopting the ASEAN Vision 2020 to ultimately create a community of 'caring' societies, and so at the 9th ASEAN Summit in 2003, the ASEAN leaders resolved that an ASEAN 'Community' shall be established. Later at the 12th ASEAN Summit in 2007, the leaders signed the *Cebu Declaration* 'on the Acceleration of the Establishment of an ASEAN Community' by 2015, where 'community' is comprised of three 'pillar' organisations: the ASEAN Political-Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. Each 'pillar' has its Blueprint and also form the 'Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009-2015'.

In order to achieve the ASEAN Community, in November 2007, ASEAN leaders signed *the ASEAN Charter* giving its ten member states a legal identity (the first step towards its aim of a free trade area by 2015). The ASEAN Charter serves as a firm foundation in achieving the ASEAN Community by providing legal status and institutional framework for ASEAN. It also states ASEAN norms, rules and values, sets clear targets for ASEAN. The ASEAN Foreign Ministers gathered on 15 December 2008 at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta to mark the start of the ASEAN Charter as one of the important historic occasions for ASEAN. The ASEAN Charter acts as a new legal framework among the ten ASEAN member states and establishes many new organs to boost its community-building process. It will also

be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations, under Article 102, Paragraph 1 of the Charter of the United Nations.

3.2 The ASEAN Creative City Network

As an association, ASEAN has the power to shape or even control the direction of the Creative City discourse in the region. In April 2017, ASEAN held the 'ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition' in Manila, Philippines as a part of ASEAN 2017 Business Events. The event discussed the use of culture and creativity as a driving force of sustainable development and urban regeneration, and this was done through the stimulation of growth and innovation and the promotion of social cohesion, citizen well-being and inter-cultural dialogue. Key professionals in Creative Economy and Creative City spheres shared their experiences in developing initiatives with proposals on how ASEAN could adopt the Creative City discourse as a development plan for the region and the role of the discourse in sustainable and inclusive development. Even though ASEAN has just begun formally attending to the Creative City discourse, many cities in the association had already applied the notion 'creative' to their cities. Once these cities were interconnected with ASEAN at the level of policy, the Creative City discourse in ASEAN could be rapidly developed as a regional phenomenon.

In a somewhat more 'bottom-up' approach, in April 2014 cities that adopted the Creative City concept gathered in Chiang Mai and arrived at a consensus aspiration to form a network arrangement. Since there was no active network of creative cities or clusters in the ASEAN region, there was deemed a need to form the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network (SEACCN) to act as a policy hub and generate a consensus of shared knowledge based on ASEAN principles of cooperation. In a later statement, the Network suggested that understanding cities themselves as 'hubs' will place a great emphasis on the mindset of municipal authorities on using arts, culture and creativity for urban development (Southeast Asian Creative Cities

Network, 2014) as well as establish actual physical spaces for culture within each city.

Later in August on the same year, an MoU was signed by four-member cities: Bandung (Indonesia), Cebu (Philippines), Chiang Mai (Thailand) and George Town (Penang, Malaysia). The Network remained an open group focusing on promoting creativity in the region and without the explicit official endorsement of any government or ASEAN executive committee. The Network also chose to privilege 'secondary cities', which, according to Brillembourg and Klumpner (2014), are those cities of about 500,000 to 3 million inhabitants and smaller in scale than a country's industrial and capital cities. Such secondary cities are often unknown outside of their national or regional context (ibid); and according to the World Bank (2009), make up almost 40% of the world cities population. Therefore, they have an influential significant to the future economic development of countries, and nearly two-thirds of these are located in Africa and Asia (ibid).

The scope of the term 'creativity' for the SEACCN was elaborated upon and covers the promotion of creativity and innovation in the economy, education, urban development, sustainable development and community engagement, as well as the crossovers and linkages between creativity, culture and heritage (Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network, 2014). Furthermore, as Southeast Asian cities have a strong and visible cultural heritage, the use of the terms 'creative economy' and creative industries no way implies a categorical separation from heritage (or indeed the arts). This broad definition of 'creativity' remains important for ASEAN's conception of economic development (ibid) altogether, and while the Network directly refers to the policy discourse of creative economy derived from UNCTAD (UNCTAD 2008; 2010), it emphasises its many dimensions (cultural, scientific, economic or technological).

Furthermore, although the Network focuses on the Southeast Asian region, there is active collaboration with other cities and organisations from outside the region, often involving the ASEAN Secretariat offering a platform to cultural organisations, innovative companies, influential consultants and non-governmental organisation (NGO and INGO's), aiming to who engage in knowledge sharing through regional knowledge platforms, joint activities, mutual capacity building and development, and joint bids for funding from agencies or the private sector (Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network, 2014).

As mentioned above, there are four member cities, which are Bandung, Cebu, Chiang Mai and George Town, in the SEACCN Network. Another 'network' has also been productive (and collaborative rather than competitive with this regional network), and that is the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. As of the start of 2019, there have been six cities in Southeast Asia awarded membership of the UNESCO Network, the first of which was Pekalongan (Indonesia) in 2014. In 2015, where UNESCO announced 47 more cities as members of their network, three were Southeast Asian — Bandung (Indonesia), Phuket (Thailand) and Singapore. In 2017, Baguio City (Philippines) and Chiang Mai (Thailand) also (and to UNESCO we will later return).

3.3 Major Examples of Creative City Policies across Asia

By way of context, this section will now cite significant examples of the appropriation of the Creative City notion in Asia more broadly. The Creative City discourse in Shanghai maintains a strong connection to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network as the city joined this network in February 2010 (under the 'design' category), and this has played a significant role in the direction of the city's urban policies and development. Through their commitments in the past years, by 2016, the design industry accounted for 7.31% of the total GDP (UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office, 2017). By the end of the same year, the city was home to over 4,000 innovative design

agencies and institutions, 237 community art and cultural centres, and 128 creative clusters (ibid). According to Shanghai's Four-Year Action Plan (2018-2021), the city aims to develop into "a famous City of Design, with more concentrated resources, more active market main body, more vivid industry characteristics, more significant driving effect, and more inclusive international cooperation" (UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office, 2017, p.16). While evidently co-extensive with China's national policy of recognising creative industries (including broadcast media) as one of its economic pillars, the city of Shanghai has used its 'Special Administrative Region' (SAR) status in achieving Creative City aims at two levels: regional and international. At the regional level, the city focuses on (1) cross-boundary integration development by the use of the creative design in manufacturing, science and technology, and cultural and tourism industries, (2) creative design space construction to optimise spatial layouts, and (3) fostering favourable environment for creative design (UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office, 2017, p.16). At the international level, Shanghai aims to work with other UNESCO Creative Cities of design by hosting meetings and exchange programmes (ibid).

Another profound example of a Creative City implementation in Asia is the South Korean capital of Seoul. Like Shanghai, Seoul had prior outstanding commitments to traditional and contemporary creative and cultural assets: it also applied for and was accepted as a UNESCO Creative City (in the design category) in 2010. The Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) together with Seoul Design Foundation are responsible for the Creative City policy in the city as the SMG has been supporting the design industry by opening up new markets, helping in participating exhibitions, and seeking to use design in solving social issues (Seoul Design Foundation, 2017). The central creative industries in Seoul are the design industry and the fashion industry, and the events and projects that support these industries are, for example, the Seoul Fashion Week, Seoul Design Week, and Seoul

Fashion Creative Studio (ibid) all three of which gain significant municipal support and national media attention. The action plan for the Creative City of Seoul includes three main projects that guide the direction of the urban development of the city. First, the Seoul Design Week aims for diverse opportunities for participation and cooperation between the creative cities. Second, the Seoul Upcycling Plaza was launched to meet individuals' needs and to contribute to creating a resource recycling ecosystem. Last, the Seoul Design Survey is used to predict the environment for design and public's needs by a survey of design-related enterprises and a survey of education and policy on design (Seoul Design Foundation, 2017). Additionally, the SMG built the Dongdaemun Design Plaza as a cultural hub dedicated to design and creative industries. The Dongdaemun Design Plaza comprises a design museum, art hall, design lab, design library, and design educational facilities (Cities of Design Network, 2019a). It is also claimed that over 170,000 jobs are created in Seoul's design industry (ibid).

A third and outstanding example in the broader Asian region is the city-state Singapore. As early as 2003, the DesignSingapore Council was established to (i) help organisations and enterprises use design as a business strategy, (ii) nurture skilled workers in design and innovation, and (iii) advance Singapore brand by locally raising design appreciation and connecting with people across the world (Cities of Design Network, 2019b). Ten years later, in 2013, Singapore's National Design Centre was built to connect designers and businesses, and for the public to learn about design. In 2015, the city (technically, Singapore City) was designated a UNESCO Creative City of Design, and this helps to nurture the design industry and creative environment in the city. It also opened a door for Singapore to maintain formal liaison with other cities in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, and high-profile projects that privilege the design industry in Singapore include the now well-known Singapore Design Week, Singapore Arts Festival, and Design Education Summit.

3.4 The Economic Conditions of Southeast Asian Cities

3.4.1 Background

We need now to consider the economic evolution of the East Asian region so as to contextualise the Southeast Asian region. Geographically, East Asia and Southeast Asia are cartographically designated as two different regions; however, economically, countries in Southeast Asia are often included in the economy of the East Asian region. To understand the context of the economy in East Asia, the economy before the end of the Second World War will be the starting point of discussion.

In 1945, before the end of Second World War, countries in East Asia and Southeast Asia were under the colonial rule of Western colonial empires, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and America (as shown in figure 3.1). China, Siam (Thailand) and Japan, however, managed to escape from the colonisation of these colonial powers and remained independent. Japan, later on, also colonised Korea and Taiwan.

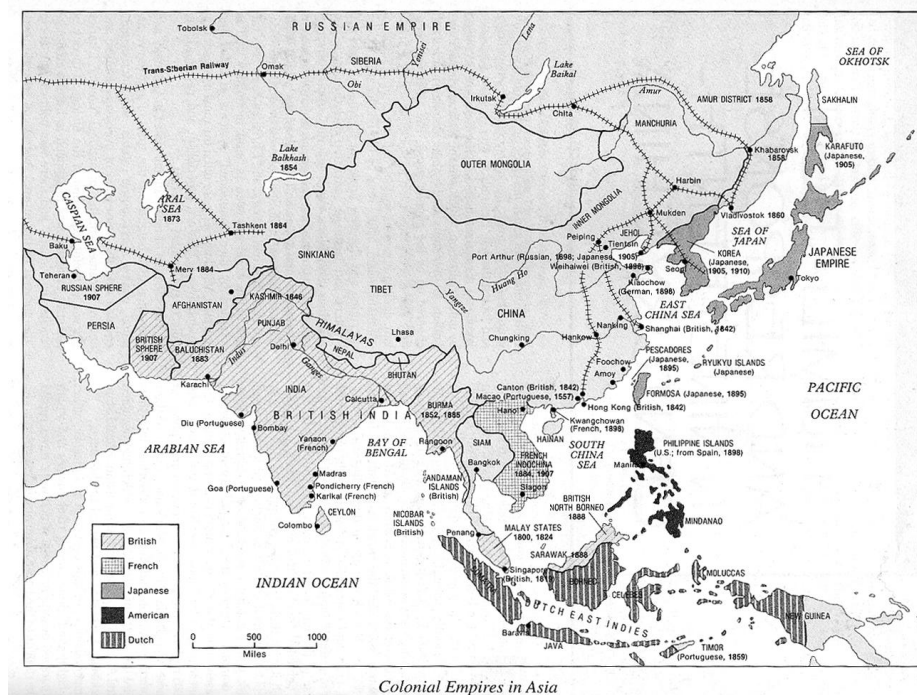


Figure 3.1: *Colonial empires in Asia before the outbreak of WWII* (Reed, 2017)

During that period, trading with these colonial powers plays a major role in the economic development of the Southeast Asian countries, as well as the introduction of industrial and agricultural machinery, as well as financial and information systems and social institutions. In the 1860s, the opening of the Suez Canal in Egypt encouraged the increase of trade volume in the region, and the Philippines was, for example, the first to trade with Latin America: coconut, corn, sugar and tobacco were traded at Manila galleon, as a place where also goods from the Philippines were traded with Europe. Moreover, the British colony of Malaya (now part of Malaysia) was the world's largest producer of tin and rubber, and founded in 1819, Singapore became one of the important countries in trading in the region given its previous function as a colonial outpost and trading port for the British. To increase the trade flow in Asia, the British and the Dutch created their own national trading companies (famously, the British East India Company² and the Dutch East India Company³), and while these were independent trading companies they were obviously mandated to make their trade a monopoly of their colonies and where their progressive interests shaped the entire region in its demand for commodities, mercantile and commercial activity.

The 'East Asian Miracle':

After the end of the War, China increasingly innovated an uncompromising communist model of the economy, and India adopted socialist policies to promote its development-oriented domestic economy. As China and India account for half of the population of Asia, these policies had a significant impact on the broader region, notably limitations. By way of contrast, in the 1960s the economies of Japan and the so-called 'Four Asian Tigers' (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore

² The British East India Company was founded on 31 December 1600 by John Watts and George White.

³ The Dutch East India Company was founded on 20 March 1602 by Johan van Oldenbarnevelt.

and Hong Kong) proliferated to the extent that popular economists referred to an 'East Asian Miracle'. As commonly thought of as the only 'successful' economies outside of the Western world (Nakaso, 2015), the 'Miracle' phenomenon (of high and sustained regional economic growth between the mid-1960s and 1990 (World Bank, 1993) indelibly shaped the political economy of regional governance. Added to the Four Asian Tigers were soon the three 'Newly Industrialised Economies' (NIEs) of Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand (World Bank, 1993). Since 1960, the economies of these eight countries have grown more than twice as fast as the rest of East Asia, and approximately three times as fast as Latin America and South Asia (ibid). They also have grown 25 times faster than Sub-Saharan Africa and have outperformed the industrial economies of the Middle East-North Africa region (ibid). Between 1960-1985, real income per capita increased more than four times in Japan and the Four Asian Tigers and more than doubled in the Southeast Asian NIEs (ibid).

According to the 1993 *World Bank Report*, keys to the exponential economic growth herein can be understood as four strands: the first was the commitment to what the World Bank recognised as the fundamentals of macroeconomic management (business environmental stability, prudent and sustainable fiscal policies, exchange rate policies, the progressive liberalisation of financial sectors, efforts to minimise price distortions, and actions to support the spread of primary and secondary schooling (Stiglitz and Yusuf, 2001, p.5-6). The second strand, notwithstanding the need for 'liberalisation' (privatisation of state assets and business interests), was the maintenance of a 'strong state' in the sense of an uncompromising state authority to safeguard economic development aims; this, of course, resulted in political authoritarianism (Stiglitz and Yusuf, 2001, p.6). The third strand stressed policies of increased industrialisation, enhanced by selective use of tariff protection and export incentives (to provide the industry with financing at a lower cost) (Stiglitz and Yusuf, 2001, p.7). The fourth strand was political pragmatism, in the sense

that all economic measures were applied flexibly and abandoned if their purpose was not being fulfilled (i.e. aimed at fulfilling an economic function, not satisfying private or political interests: Ohno, 1998).

Because of these critical elements, the economies of the 'High Performing Asian Economies' (HPAEs – Japan and the Four Asian Tigers: to international investors and economists) were successful, especially that of Japan, whose models of industrial production and manufacturing design gained a worldwide influence. After World War II, the new Japanese government (under US direction and occupation from 1945-1952) restructured the entire economy while using the traditional Japanese industrial groups of *keiretsu*, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the national banks to create an ecosystem of industrial development. While causing stagnation in the long term, as a development approach, the insularity of this ecosystem facilitates easy access to capital and protecting the economy from foreign competition (Steger and Roy, 2010). By the 1980s, Japan was a regional model of national economic development (Allen, 2000).

The economies of the Four Asian Tigers, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, underwent rapid industrialisation and maintained exceptionally high growth rates of 7.5% a year between the early 1960s and 1990s (World Bank, 1993). By the 21st century, these four countries had developed into advanced and high-income economies and achieved a developed country status (ibid). Hong Kong and Singapore have become the world-leading international financial centres, while South Korea and Taiwan are world leaders in information technology manufacturing. As mentioned above, the creation of stable macroeconomic environments was the foundation of the success of the HPAEs, as well as for the Four Asian Tigers. Each of the Four Asian Tiger states managed three variables, which are budget deficits, external debt and exchange rates (Page, 1994). As to not destabilise the macroeconomy, each nation's budget deficits were

kept within the limits of their financial limits. Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan did not have any external debt as they did not borrow from abroad (ibid); South Korea, however, was the exception as its debt to GNP ratio was quite high during the year 1980-1985 but the economy was later sustained by a high level of exports. Moreover, the exchange rates in these four countries had been changed from long-term fixed-rate regimes to fixed-but-adjustable rate regimes (Page, 1994), preventing exchange rate appreciation and maintaining a stable real exchange rate (ibid).

Export policies had been cited by the economists as the main reason for the rise of these Four Asian Tiger economies, though the approach taken by the four nations has been different. Hong Kong and Singapore introduced trade regimes that encouraged free trade, and due to small domestic markets, domestic prices were linked to international prices. South Korea and Taiwan, however, adopted mixed regimes that accommodated their own export industries, also working to promote specific exporting industries, which were termed as an 'export push' strategy (World Bank, 1993). The elements of a successful export push are access to imports at world prices, export financing, market penetration, and flexibility (World Bank, 1993, p.143-145).

The export push strategy is internal to the now well-known big 'Asian Development Model', which explains the cooperative relations among government, business, and labour (Steger and Roy, 2010, p.77). The Asian Development Model is sometimes also referred to as 'corporatism', and four central features can be defined thus:

- (1) relatively autonomous rule by a political-bureaucratic state elite strong enough to repel interest-group pressures to adopt short-term economic policies over long-term economic growth strategies;
- (2) public-private sector cooperation resulting in national 'industrial policies' geared toward upgrading the manufacturing

industry and increasing exports (these policies are overseen by government planning agencies);

(3) public investment in education with an express aim to develop competitive labour markets;

(4) disciplined protection of domestic markets from foreign imports (and domestic control over the capital market: Sterger and Roy, 2010, p.77).

The use of the export push strategy and the Asian Development Model in total can be seen clearly in the Four Asian Tigers. South Korea adopted the 'export push' strategy because the country did not have a sufficiently large domestic population to contemplate a strategy other than export-led development. Its performance is described as forced growth because it was not from the exploitation of natural resources, an influx of labour, flows of speculative capital, or the adoption of new means of production (World Bank 1993, p.127). Instead, a systematic program of importing raw materials and intermediate goods for processing and export with added value was a cause of economic growth in Korea (ibid). In the early 1970s, South Korea had recovered from being left impoverished after the Korean War (1950-1953), as it was then among one of the world's poorest countries. However, South Korea used conglomerate corporate structures, also known as *chaebols* (Samsung, Hyundai, Kia, LG Corp, and many more) as both engines of production and structuring mechanisms for education, training and the socialisation of labour. The emergence of the South Korean economy from agricultural poverty to unprecedented industrial technology is popularly known as 'The Miracle on the Han River'⁴.

⁴ The term was coined after the phrase 'Miracle on the Rhine' was used to refer to the West German economic rebirth after WWII. Chang Myon, a South Korean former prime minister, was the first person to use it in his New Year's address in 1961 to encourage South Koreans to bear difficulties and hope in achieving a similar economic upturn (Lee and Yoo, 1987).

Taiwan and Hong Kong experienced rapid growth in the 1960s and 1970s as leading centres of manufacturing and design, consumer electronics, research and development (R&D). Unlike Japan and South Korea, Taiwan's economy is dependent on small to medium-sized businesses. Hong Kong experienced the most significant rapid growth in the financial sector in this period due to USA-style liberal market policies and attracting foreign corporations using the city as a regional financial hub. Until recently, one of the world's top five financial centres (Lau, 2014), followed only by Singapore. As for Singapore, the economy was growing rapidly after the declaration of independence in 1965, and the combination of authoritarian government and conservative fiscal policy inculcated in an organised workforce a dedicated to a politically managed stable incremental growth. The education and skills of its multiracial workforce, open investment platforms, combined with export-oriented industries, allowed Singapore to offer a unique combination of international opportunities. The city-state's small scale allowed for rapid policy implementation and central government response to problems.

As noted by the World Bank (1993) and many others, the Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs) of Southeast Asia are Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand (involving 'Tiger Cub Economies' Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam) have largely followed the same export-driven model of economic development pursued by the Four 'Asian Tigers'. Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs played a prominent role in the development of the region's private sectors, and these businesses are part of the larger so-called 'bamboo network' — overseas Chinese businesses in the region and who notably share common family and cultural ties. Notionally begun with Chinese refugees of the Communist Revolution 1949 (Yeung, 2006), its firms are typically mid-sized corporations but with the broader family provision of trade and financing opportunities and requiring relationship obligations (*guanxi*). Such networks offer an insight into how rapid commerce and industrial development can take place

relatively insulated from indigenous social and cultural conditions of development. Much of the business activity of the bamboo network is centred in the major cities of the region, such as Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Ho Chi Minh City.

In the late 1990s, under the lead of Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese economy began to 'open' to commerce and trade in the regional, as the liberalisation of the Indian economy earlier in the decade had done. India and China maintain a unique and to some extent exclusive presence in the region: population is to some extent responsible for this, as for slow or uneven economic change (by 1960, there were 667.1 million people in China and 449.7 million people in India (World Bank, 2017) and by 1990, China grew to 1.135 billion people and 870.6 million in India (ibid). The use of legal limits on population growth (e.g. 'one-child policy' from 1979 to 2015; internal urbanisation and property commercialisation) and the development of highly competitive labour markets have meant that while China and India are economic giants their mechanisms of economic growth have not facilitated the economic 'colonisation' of the region.

The Asian Financial Crisis:

One of the biggest crises in Asian history is the so-called Asian financial crisis of 1997. In the 1990s, the government of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, and the Philippines gradually relaxed control over the domestic movement of capital in order to attract foreign direct investment (Steger and Roy, 2010). However, by 1997, Thailand suffered the adverse impact of currency speculators, and the value of Baht along with its annual growth rate fell dramatically. The financial impact spread to other Asian economies, including Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, resulting in considerable economic confusion followed by visible economic damage inflicted on Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea.

The crisis has often been identified as providing a rationale for the introduction of 'neoliberalisation' in East and Southeast Asia (Bello, 2007). While 'free market' techniques, privatisation and liberalisation, had been normative commitments since the 1970s for many, it was the 1990s that saw the rise of neoliberalism (Robison and Hewison, 2006): the convergence of development models is significant, for "where economies in which the state had a significant role and where prevailing predatory or corrupt political arrangements would be replaced with free markets, private sector capitalism, enhanced transparency and 'good governance'" (Robison and Hewison, 2006, p.viii). State-led capitalism, cartel-based, corporate or 'crony capitalism', while historically rooted in colonialism, almost eclipsed notions of a free market of entrepreneurs, which from Schumpeter (1934), Hayek (1960), and Friedman (1962) had been the centre of various doctrines of market-liberalisation. The market, rather, was re-framed and restructured so as to include an entrepreneurial state and its clientele corporate actors (both inside and outside of a country), legitimised through new forms of globalisation and international financial institutions like the IMF (Robison and Hewison, 2006). Neoliberalism was not merely an updated form of 'free market' liberalisation, but involved a range of previous iterations of Asian political economy (Deng Xiaoping's 'opening up' of China throughout the 1980s is defined by David Harvey (cited in Steger and Roy, 2010, p.84) as 'neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics'; the same could be said of Japan's Hashimoto after 1996 (Steger and Roy, 2010, p.81) and India today (Joseph, 2007).

Even within the diversity of Southeast Asian countries, each of which having a unique history and culture is that colonialism, 'free market' liberalisation, the experience of economic crisis, population increases, political instability and mass urbanisation, make for a complex narrative. While it is common to define the region as 'neoliberal' — and in this thesis, the concept of neoliberalism informs a central argument, we must remain aware of the complexity of the relation between

society and economy. Notwithstanding the region's diversity, where economic 'development' is concerned, homogenous characteristics are more visible.

3.4.2 The Question of Urban-Economic Development

In the Asian region, regional 'development' is signified in part by the many economic cooperations between countries, for example, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement (APTA), and, of course, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). These economic alliances play an important role in shaping the policy frameworks of development for Asian economies, and in this thesis the economic strategy of ASEAN (specifically manifest in its enthusiasm for the Creative City notion) is crucial.

'Developmentalism' is a term used with reference to late-industrialising countries in reaction to economic liberalism broadly speaking (Hill et al., 2012). Put simply, developmental states prioritise industrialisation; industrial policies are the means for states to achieve their economic goals. Japan was the first country in East Asia to adopt this political ideology in the late nineteenth century to emulate Western powers. "Japanese developmentalism is distinguished from Western neoliberalism by its long-term view, its regional outlook, its emphasis on dynamic comparative advantage, and the importance it attaches to a developmental state" (Hill and Fujita, 1996). In the Japanese view, in the early stages of industrialisation, a secure and centralised government is crucial since it depends on a nation's resources that need government's power to authorise (Hill and Fujita, 2012). Japanese-style developmentalism started to spread to neighbouring countries after the Second World War. South Korea and Taiwan were the first to adopt developmentalism, then Hong Kong followed. Because of the economic success of these nations, they are known as the Four Asian Tigers, as mentioned earlier. Later, Singapore,

Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam took the developmental ideology as an accepted framing of their domestic economic policies (Hill et al. 2012). Following their relative economic success, many facets of the neoliberal political project have emerged but arguably not as a cohesive political ideology.

Neoliberalism, of course, cannot be said to be defined by its varied impacts given how different even regionally close domestic economies can be: as economic geographers point out, it varies by geographical and institutional setting (Hill et al., 2012). Moreover, for Tickell and Peck (2003, p.165), “[T]here is no ‘pure’ form of neoliberalism, only a range of historically and geographically specific manifestations of neoliberalisation-as-process”. East Asia is primarily shaped by historical developmental worldviews (Hill et al., 2012) as much a policy, with their complex ethnic, religious and tribal allegiances, stability and cooperation rank far higher than in Western states, where national borders, culture and values, institutions and legal procedure can be taken for granted. Nonetheless, with the weakening of East Asian socialist and communist parties following the end of the Cold War, then the Asian economic crisis of 1997, Thailand and South Korea were forced to turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for financial assistance – and this resulting in a direct importation of some economic doctrines we can identify as neoliberal (Hill et al., 2012). According to Hill et al. (2012, p.17), “[T]he combination of local and nationally based challenges to the authority of the developmental state, regional economic crises, and the Washington-promoted global spread of neoliberal ideology opened the way for neoliberal reform programs in East Asia”. Nonetheless, many scholars, i.e. Hill et al. (2012) and Park (2008), conceptualised neoliberalism in the region as ‘developmental neoliberalism’, which is dynamic and intractable involves in perpetual ideological clashes, political accommodations, and selective appropriations.

3.4.3 The Question of Neoliberalism

The now substantial research on neoliberal economics and cities demonstrates that cities are the principal object of strategic experimentation and institutional implementation of political neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.21). For Asia, some Western researchers hypothesise that neoliberalism in Asia is generating a parallel transition in urban institutions, or Westernisation: from the 'Keynesian Managerial City' to the 'Neoliberal Entrepreneurial City' (Hackworth, 2007; Jessop, 1991a, 1991b; and Brenner and Theodore, 2002), the same basic economics are now re-structuring Asian cities (in parallel to their architecture and urban planning). However, as noted above, this view ignores the historical complexity of the Asian 'developmental city' and how its transformation into an 'entrepreneurial city' cannot simply efface existing non-structural alliances, like ethnic and family networks and pan-regional cultural influences, like Confucianism. Hill et al. (2012) allows for a more nuanced approach: firstly, the political power of local government is not constituted like the West (in Asia local government tend to be an extension of the central government, not subject to local election or democratic institutions as in the West, and hence weaker) (Hill et al., 2012, p.21). Secondly, the regional developmental policy of each Asian region has essentially different aims because of its diverse geo-industrial capacity (unlike the balanced growth and political limits placed on competition of the highly regulated Keynesian managerial city). In East Asia, the regional developmental policy is "largely to sustain state legitimacy in the face of regional frictions caused by the functional primacy of the political capital city" (ibid). Thirdly, the Keynesian managerial city prioritises urban infrastructure to support mass production and economic growth, with strong social welfare policies supporting the labour (workers); in East Asia, economic development prioritises trade and its financial outcomes, with infrastructure as incremental and welfare policies weak or absent (ibid). The main point here is that East Asia's 'developmental city' is a very different economic basis for neoliberal expansion —

neoliberalism cannot, therefore, be understood in terms of its impacts along the lines of the Keynesian city model. Nonetheless, as has been noted, neoliberal strategy approaches are now used in similar ways: “East Asian localities are forming new public-private partnerships, relaxing some land-use regulations, and subsidising commercial mega-projects, all indicating increased commodification of city spaces” (Hill et al., 2012). However, it is arguably the case that in the context of historical developmentalism, neoliberal policy implementation tend to be pragmatic, not ideological (ibid), and so one must not assume they act as conduit for neoliberal values (such as a principled preferences for a small state, strong privacy laws, or independent civil society, and so on).

Brenner and Theodore’s (2002) paper “Actually existing neoliberalism” is selected here as a critical-analytical template as it does not assume a coherent passage for neoliberal transformation and where economic change is necessarily accompanied by ideological change. The template highlights the contradictory, destructive character of neoliberal policies and underscores how neoliberal can be mistaken for actual economic transformation (where the material conditions of production change — labour, infrastructure, capital, and so on). Rather, they argue that neoliberal doctrine represents an alignment of institutions and agencies within new ‘state and market’ power structure (as distinct from changing the condition of labour with new social legislation, or welfare provision). Moreover, neoliberalism appears as objective management of an ‘economy’, and not a political construct that marginalises the ‘social’ (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

Brenner and Theodore’s (2002) also emphasise that a feature of neoliberalism globally is its ‘transfer’ or replication-oriented assumptions (economic policies are objective and can be applied in any given social context to achieve uniform results). To assess the actual diversity of the manifestations of neoliberalism, however, they use two templates: (1) destructive and creative moments of actually

existing neoliberalism, which presents site of regulation, moment of destruction and moment of creation, and (2) destructive and creative moments of neoliberal localisation, which includes mechanisms of neoliberal localisation, moment of destruction and moment of creation. In this thesis, template two will be deployed, as it is less abstract and economics-based more 'place'-oriented, thus suited to a specific city. Moreover, it allows for an emphasis on the people, citizens and social contexts of the case study cities — particularly as large questions will remain on the social complexity of Southeast Asia and how we can expect any Western framework to be of value or benefit. Indeed the 'developmentalism' of Southeast Asia is not to be confused with recent 'development' models promoted by the UN (or economic narratives of development, involving priorities on 'human' capabilities, cultural or civil society capacity building). There are huge tracts of research on Asian societies revealing how they possess their own 'civil society' discourses on democratisation. Guan (2004, p.10) argues, colonialism, ethnic division, social class-based hierarchy, can all lend itself to the assumption that Western liberal democratic models can only be hostile or ill-fitting for Southeast Asian cultural values and traditions (ibid).

However, this thesis takes as an assumption the following: while Southeast Asia is indeed different, distinctive and subject to its own developmental dynamics, it is not entirely alien and since colonialism, communism in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos (Guan, 2004, p.12), economic expansion, urbanisation and international relations since the 1970s, and now the global economy and the global distribution of cultural goods, Southeast Asia must be understood as a region that has been contending with and in dialogue with the West for a long time. Moreover, education, social movements and civil society NGOs in Southeast Asia are also significant in an evolving regional cosmopolitanism — and not least ASEAN.

3.4.4 Southeast Asia as Contemporary Site of Creative City Policy Development

The four case study cities, Bandung, Cebu, Chiang Mai and George Town, are chosen as they are the pioneers of the ASEAN policy and Creative City adoption in the Southeast Asian region, all of whom using the Creative City policy notion as central to their urban economic development. Chiang Mai as the primary (and first) case study was selected as it initiated the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network. Adopted in 2010 by a new agency, Creative Chiang Mai, creativity and innovation became essential components of the city's policy spectrum. This is coordinated by the 'Chiang Mai Creative City Development Committee', established by the Governor of Chiang Mai, and comprising 50 representatives from the academic, private and government sectors. It is not a government-funded entity but whose operational costs are part grant-funded and part earned revenue, based on the Western model of devolved governance. The focus areas in Chiang Mai are as followed: community and creativity, heritage, design, crafts, software, entrepreneur, and culture and art, although the participation on the Creative City of other aspects, for example, citizens and local markets, in the city is still an open question.

The Creative City was first adopted to Bandung in 2008. It is run by the NGO Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF), which uses a creativity-based educational approach to planning and contributing to the improvement of city infrastructures. In 2011, the BCCF provided a creative space called the Bandung Creative Hub as a space for workshops, exhibitions, discussions among people in the community. Later in 2012, the BCCF provided another space for the same purposes. As an independent agency, it works through collaboration with other NGOs, state agencies and the Indonesian government in organising activities and programmes on the themes of urban development, culture and creative industries.

Creative Cebu Council began in 2009, and like the BCCF, the Creative Cebu Council is the independent agency that discharges its spectrum of activities. These comprise the objects of its mission statement: (1) to increase the capability of the industry through various linkages and public-private support, while promoting genuine creativity and innovation; (2) to be a venue for sharing of resources, information, ideas and best practices; and (3) to recognise, utilise and nurture past, present and future talents. The cultural fields of priority and focus in Cebu are the design industry, crafts and furniture industry, and software industry. As we will see, the Cebu case exemplifies the social change and economic development in the region in terms of the inter-local policy transfer.

The creative projects in George Town, Penang, in Malaysia is run by Think City, a wholly owned subsidiary of Khazanah Nasional Berhad. It is a community-based urban regeneration agency that expressly seeks to create more sustainable and liveable cities. Established in 2009, the agency collaborates on the running of the central annual cultural event in George Town —the George Town Festival, a month-long celebration of art and culture in the city, often involving international performances. It started in honour of George Town's designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, but whose urbanisation is evolved at speed not altogether in synchronicity with the evolution of its social life.

3.4.5 The Four Cases: The Approach

The four cases are presented one by one starting from Chiang Mai, Bandung, Cebu and George Town respectively. The 'approach' taken was to consider the Creative City as 'policy' phenomenon through primarily considering the actors and agents of implementation, and so a 'bottom-up' (city-level) view in relation to the critical aspirations of the thesis (to register the socio-political dimension of the Creative City as economic development). Chiang Mai, as stated above, was the

principal object, pilot study and set the parameters for the cases on the other cities. Bandung is explored next as the way Bandung Creative City Forum started was similar to that of Chiang Mai (bottom-up approach). Cebu and George Town are followed as these two cases are supported strongly by regional and national governments. Within each case, five main components will be discussed: (i) background history and economic development; (ii) governance and social development; (iii) creative city policy development and implementation; (iv) analysis and critique – using the criteria of neoliberalism; (v) conclusions – the contribution to the investigation and the critical analysis.

Chapter 4 Principle Case Study: Chiang Mai (Thailand)

Chiang Mai, as the primary case study of this thesis, will set the scope and direction for other supporting case studies. This chapter's case study aims to answer two principal research questions: firstly, how has the Creative City construct been adopted by the city of Chiang Mai, and secondly, does the Creative City here function as a conduit of neoliberalism? Chiang Mai was the very first city in the country of Thailand to use 'creativity' as a public policy term and to use culture to address urban dilemmas, notably employment. For this section, desk research was conducted to present a succinct historical narrative for context, and two measures of fieldwork involved in-depth interviews with six stakeholders from Creative Chiang Mai, the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, Thailand Creative and Design Centre (Chiang Mai branch), Chiang Mai Art Conversation, Chiang Mai Smart City, and a representative from creative people in Chiang Mai. Document analysis and a critical policy review were subsequently undertaken with documents in the Thai language, followed by a second fieldwork trip, attending a week-long Chiang Mai Design Week 2017 — to investigate, among other things, the interaction between the government, policymakers, artists (creative people), and local citizens of the city.

This chapter is in six main sections: (1) Thailand and the emergence of the creative economy as policy idea, (2) Chiang Mai city urban economy, (3) Chiang Mai Creative City policy development, (4) Creative Chiang Mai and Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative (UNESCO Creative Cities Network), (5) Chiang Mai's creative city-making: a policy tabulation, and (6) Chiang Mai and neoliberalism with reference to Brenner and Theodore's neoliberal localisation framework. The chapter argues that the Creative City governance model as adapted by Chiang Mai is frustrated through facilitating a

chronic lack of participation — on behalf of citizens and other potential key actors.

4.1 Thailand and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea

Thailand is one of the founding members of ASEAN, and comprised of 76 provinces, with Bangkok as the capital and the largest city. The population is over 69 million; the prevalent religion is Theravada Buddhism, which has shaped Thai identity and culture. In 2016, 94.50% of Thai citizens self-identified as Buddhists of the Theravada tradition, 4.29% Muslims, 1.17% Christians, and other remaining population consisting of Hindus and Sikhs (National Statistical Office, 2017). The neighbouring countries are Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and Malaysia, of which it maintains stable relations. During the colonial period, Thailand (then called *Siam*) faced pressure from France and the United Kingdom but remained the only Southeast Asian country that avoided direct colonial rule. In the late 1950s, a military coup played an essential role in increasing the monarchy's influential role in politics. Thailand then became a significant ally of the United States and played a critical anti-communist role in the region. Apart from a brief period of parliamentary democracy in the mid-1970s, Thailand has alternated between democracy and military rule from time to time. In the 21st century, Thailand faced a political crisis that ended up in two coups and the establishment of its current and 20th constitution by the military junta. Thailand was a unitary parliamentary constitutional monarchy under a military junta until March 2019, when the country returned to parliamentary democracy.

Thailand is classified as a newly industrialised economy: manufacturing, agriculture, and tourism are the leading sectors (World Bank, 2016). It has been dependent upon the labour-intensive manufacturing sector for many decades, and the Asian Economic Crisis in 1997 (the 'Tom Yum Koong Crisis') served to generate a new public awareness on the importance of a balanced economy:

Government policymakers responded by an apparent attempt to reposition the country in the global market. From the Crisis, the Thai government has repeatedly attempted to devise revised methods of national economic development, using terms like 'value creation' and purposively increasing domestic consumption, and where new shopping malls have appeared, new luxury goods and Western brands have become common for Thai citizens (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Council, 2007).

Thailand's recent economic policy priorities include infrastructure and services management, developing the knowledge economy through technology as well as promoting R&D for innovation and commercialisation. The term 'creative' must be understood in this context: it involves an approach to an economy based on the use of knowledge, education, innovations and research, and implicating technology and intellectual property. The national policy definition of the creative industries is simply borrowed from UNCTAD as production based on knowledge and creativity (i.e. where the production may be different, but the models of distribution, consumption and commercial exploitation are standard (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Office, 2009); moreover, creative industries are the fulcrum of a creative economy (ibid) and not the culture, heritage or arts (though in the UNCTAD model these are also included: UNCTAD, 2019; Office of the National Economic and Social Development Office, 2009).

The creative industries of Thailand have been categorised as such: (1) cultural heritage, (2) fine arts, (3) media (broadcast and internet), and (4) functional creations (design-based). Industries within the realm of heritage are categorised as 'crafts' (including Thai traditional medicine; Thai cuisine; historical sites and cultural tourism). The fine art category includes principally the performing arts and visual arts. For media, Thailand privileges film and video, publishing, broadcast, and the music industry. The functional creation category consists of design,

fashion, architecture, advertising, and software industry. There are 15 industries categorised as 'creative', and as tradition, cultural or artistic genres, these could be broken down further (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2009).

The Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (2009) is responsible for Thailand's creative economy development and publishes the 5-year National Economic and Social Development Plan. One of its conceptual mechanisms is identifying the potential 'capital' sources of the country, of which there are six: natural capital, physical capital, financial capital, human capital, social capital, and cultural capital (Leopairote et al., 2013). As a cultural capital, the evolution of the creative industries policy discourse in Thailand can be understood as three distinct periods of policy implementation: the incubation period, policy formulation period, and reconfiguration period (Parivudhipongs, 2019). The incubation period (early 2000 – mid-2008) was a period in which the discourse was forged through statements, documents and events: key actors in the period were PM Thaksin Shinawatra, Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), Ministry of Culture, Ministry of ICT, the Office of Knowledge Management and Development (OKMD), Thailand Creative and Design Centre (TCDC), the Software Industry Promotion Agency (SIPA), and National Innovation Agency (NIA). From the late-2008 to mid-2011 was the policy formulation period, whose principal actors were PM Abhisit Vejjajiva (2008-2011), the Department of Intellectual Property (DIP), Ministry of Culture, NESDB, and TCDC. During this period, a classification of the creative industries was conducted by the NESDB and other significant policy events included Creative Economy Year 2009 and Creative Thailand 2010, Stimuli Plan 1-2 (strengthen Thai operation), Thailand International Creative Economy Forum in 2010 and 2012, Thailand Creative Economy Agency (TCEA), and the 11th national economic and social development plan (2012-2016).

The reconfiguration period from mid-2011 to late-2015 saw a time of political instability. The key actors are PM Yingluck Shinawatra (2013-2014) and the Military Junta, which seemed to usher in a new ethos of policy pragmatism. One impact of this was a government-inspired emphasis on digital technology (and digital economy, which has remained a priority from mid-2014 to present). This has witnessed a reduction in the visibility and estimated the size of many creative industries sectors, and organisational restructuring of government agencies and NGOs conducting devolved policy work.

4.2 Chiang Mai's Urban Economy

Chiang Mai is a city located in the northern part of Thailand. It is considered a capital of 'the north' given its pivotal role in regional transportation, trading, and tourism. It is 696 kilometres or 432.5 miles from Bangkok and covers an area of approximately 20,107 square kilometres (8,000 square miles), making it the second-largest province in Thailand. The population in Chiang Mai is 1,735,762 people (as of 2017: Chiang Mai University, 2016).

Chiang Mai has a documented history spanning 720 years, which is also manifest in the social diversity of the city. It is an attractive place for tourists, business visitors and investors, and a new settlement for newcomers and immigrants. An influx of foreign visitors and newcomers in Chiang Mai, especially in the historic city area, has made an impact on the city in terms of cultural and social diversity, as well as retail (Chiang Mai University, 2016). The urban culture of Chiang Mai is also infused with many forms of value, both tangible and intangible, and covers a spectrum of cultural categories from ancient heritage, rites and beliefs, to old building types to agriculture and trading in natural products, and productive artisans making distinctive arts and crafts (ibid).

Concerning the City's governance, according to Article 78 of the 20th Constitution of Thailand (2017), the state must decentralise its power

to local government for local decision making on the local economy, infrastructure, and public utilities. In terms of the policy infrastructure, the Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organisation and Chiang Mai Municipality have the political power to create economic policies, and while all local policy is subject to central government approval in the context of the national agenda (Boonyasurat, 2017), the government's enterprising aspiration allows cities to differentiate themselves from one another. Culture and creative industries are significant mechanisms of differentiation (ibid).

In Thailand, there are three categories of local government: provincial administrative organisation, subdistrict administrative organisation, and the district municipality. In Chiang Mai city, there is one provincial administrative organisation, 89 subdistrict administrative organisations and 121 municipalities (The Provincial Plan and Strategic Office, 2017, p.5). The provincial administrative organisation works at a provincial level for the development of the economy, social, education, public health, and public utility; it also acts as a support for other two local governments and even foresees the work they are doing so that they not overlap. The subdistrict administrative organisation and municipality are responsible for the development and maintenance of economy, social affairs, education, public health, and public utility like the provincial administrative organisation, but they are only responsible in their area. In the development of Chiang Mai as Creative City, there are two crucial players from the local government sector — the Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organisation and the Chiang Mai Municipality. These two entities oversee projects from the central government and cooperate with other actors in the city.

Other players in the city that impact policy strategies of Chiang Mai are the universities and international organisations and institutions. There are 22 consulates in Chiang Mai, and the two consulates that are active in the creative process in making Chiang Mai a creative city

are US Consulate General and the British Council. Their works mostly involved with Creative Chiang Mai's projects.

In terms of the economy in Chiang Mai, by 2015 The Gross Primary Production (GPP) of Chiang Mai is 194,893 million Baht or 4,425 million British Pound, and GPP per capita is 112,874 Baht or 2,562 British Pound (The Provincial Plan and Strategic Office, 2017, p.5). The three main economic sectors in Chiang Mai are the agricultural sector (22.14%), industrial (10.12%) and service sector (67.83%: *ibid*). Tourism contributes to the service sector as Chiang Mai is one of the main tourist destinations in Thailand. In 2013, Chiang Mai was ranked the third Asian city following Bangkok and Tokyo as Top Cities in Travel and Leisure Magazine. In 2017, Chiang Mai was ranked third in the 'World's Top 15 Cities' voted by readers of Travel and Leisure magazine (Kelso, 2017); and it was ranked the first in 'The Top 10 Cities in Asia' two years in a row by the same magazine (Ashlock, 2017). In 2013, there were 7,089,792 visitors, and the spending rate is 3,373.74 Baht per person per day (77 British Pound: The Provincial Plan and Strategic Office, 2017), increasing to 8,773,486 people and 9,286,307 people in 2014 and 2015, respectively (*ibid*). There are 6,451,283 local visitors (69.47%) and 2,835,024 foreign visitors (30.53%) in 2015. The first five foreign visitors to Chiang Mai are Chinese, Japanese, French, American, and British (*ibid*), and their generated revenue was 82,570.24 million Baht or 1,874 million British Pound.

By 2017 there was 31,413.23 million Baht or 713 million British Pound invested in the city's 21 industries, where agriculture is primary but from its 1,571 factories and 40,584 employed workers (Chiang Mai: The Provincial Plan and Strategic Office, 2017) a range of retail goods are produced and increasingly scrutinised by official economists. Government infrastructural investment has witnessed construction and road expansion, where the International Airport, hosting 26 international carriers, is now an aviation engineering as well as a

transportation hub (cooperating with the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)). From Chiang Mai, there are direct flights to international airports, for example, Chengdu, Guangzhou, Macao, Hangzhou, Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Seoul, Yangon, Doha (Airport Thai, 2011). This economic summary demonstrates the statistics-based narrative that can easily be constructed from standard industrial sectors, reflecting, of course, the central Government invested in economic analysis. The creative industries infrastructure is not so easily summarised as no statistical standards are employed or used.

Creative clusters in the city are where most creative industries are found. Nimmanhaemin area is an artist-led creative cluster and illustrates the difficulty in attempting to define its economic function and value in standard industrial terms. The 1.3 kilometres long road is home to art galleries, coffee shops, co-working spaces, restaurants, and hotels. Nimmanhaemin Road is an informal cultural brand, known as the 'hip street' of Chiang Mai, attracting by reputation, word of mouth and other informal social activity. There are many alleys along the main road, and each alley is famous for its unique feature, for example, the 'Alley One' is well-known for its traditional houses and shops; Alley Nine is known to be a place for coffee shops. Galleries and creative spaces are also located within the Nimmanhaemin area, as the street provides a fulcrum and geographic-cultural orientation for the area. The area has gone through the process of urban regeneration, and inevitably as commercially successful artists, tourists and businesses have increased, rental costs are rising, and other less commercial operators are moving out. As a result, Nimmanhaemin area is now one of the most expensive areas in Chiang Mai (Chiang Mai: The Provincial Plan and Strategic Office, 2017).

Another important cluster mechanism in the city is 'Sunday Walking Street'. A project from Chiang Mai Municipality, the street has been regenerated and positioned as a development place for quality of life for the city and the lives of the community members around it (Chiang Mai University Library, 2007). Traditional arts, contemporary arts, fashion items, and foods are sold along the 1.5-kilometre-long stretch of road, opened in 2002 on every Sundays from 15:00-22:00 and is considered a space to generate both production and consumption, both for artists, business, and visitors and locals.

Landry calls this 'hard' as distinct from 'soft' infrastructure (Landry, 2000), together as providing crucial conditions for the evolution of the creative industries. Examples of soft infrastructure include "networks, a specific image or identity of the place, the presence of traditions that might become meaningful factors in terms of support for creative and cultural industries to develop and grow, and with regard to the attractiveness of certain places for creative people to live and work" (Clifton, 2008; see also Comunian et al., 2010, p.6). For Chiang Mai, the soft infrastructure that plays a central role is 'networking' spaces — which may be a street or facility for some other purpose. Chiang Mai's creative industries production base, for example, features an artists' network, a craft network, and a design network, all established. These networks are initiated by a range of individuals within city-based industries and who are committed to the place-based evolution of their industry.

One other example is Chiang Mai Art Conversation (CAC), a non-profit artist-run alliance founded in 2013. The network acts as a sharing platform for professionals and students in the absence of institutions or formal professional 'societies'. CAC mostly operates online, but functions as a central creative industries platform. It published the now well-received Chiang Mai Art Map, now distributed by the city to every visitor and tourist, with free copies readily available to locals, restaurants, coffee shops, and tourist destinations. In 2016, CAC

partnered with the Japan Foundation Asia Centre to open Asian Culture Station (ACS) as a space for cultural and artistic collaboration and knowledge sharing. Other than the CAC, two networks that are important for the development of creative industries in Chiang Mai are the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and the Creative Chiang Mai, which will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

The image and identity of Chiang Mai are brand-managed by the Government Office, which from 2011 agreed to create a brand identity scheme for 'the most splendid city of culture'. However, this aim was defined within the Provincial Plan and Strategic Office stated aims to make Chiang Mai a hybrid destination: (1) Tourism hub/World's tourist destination/ MICE City/ Wellness City; (2) Northern Landport; (3) Northern food valley; (4) Education hub and (5) Eco-town Eco-village. These positions of the city also determine the development of the creative industries and creative city, as well as the attractiveness of Chiang Mai towards the creative class.

4.3 Chiang Mai's Creative City Policy Development

Like other provinces in Thailand, Chiang Mai's urban economy revolves around agriculture, tourism, industrial manufacturing sectors, and trading (Bank of Thailand, 2017). As a secondary city, Chiang Mai has undergone fast development, and leaders in all sectors have been incentivised to participate in the increasing pace of development. As noted above, the cultural and creative industries similarly.

Strategic urban development in Chiang Mai began at the time of the establishment of Creative Chiang Mai in 2010. With a public meeting of key government, private and academic professionals on the policy matter of job opportunities in the city, the universities were concerned that there was not sufficient employment for their graduate population (Creative Chiang Mai, 2014). Fifty individuals from these three sectors formed a public committee called the Chiang Mai Creative City Development Committee, with stated aims to "generate economic

development and diversification, attract new investment, and create new jobs and opportunities” by promoting creativity and innovation in Chiang Mai (Creative Chiang Mai, 2014, n.p.). The Governor of Chiang Mai officially presides over the Committee, but the members remain voluntary, and their projects (Creative Chiang Mai) are not directly funded by Chiang Mai Provincial Government Offices. The committee agreed on having the Chiang Mai University Science and Technology Park (CMU STeP) as a secretariat of Creative Chiang Mai, and this is one of the reasons Creative Chiang Mai visibly prioritises IT and technology. Projects run by Creative Chiang Mai, for example, Chiang Mai Design Awards (CDA), TEDxChiangMai, and Handmade-Chiangmai are supported by partners like British Council, US Consulate General, and Thailand Creative and Design Centre (TCDC). Creative Chiang Mai planned to apply for the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in the ‘design’ category in order to stimulate a new industrial sector but did not find significant points of engagement by which to expand the sector at the required pace; the application did not take place.

Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organisation took on the preparation for the application of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in 2014. They appointed the Faculty of Fine Arts of Chiang Mai University to lead the project since the faculty had already been working on a range of arts projects for various city residential communities. Going by the name ‘Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art’ and led by Dr Woralun Boonyasurat (faculty Dean) the now ‘Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art’ aims to devise and deliver projects that interconnect both local people and visitors with the traditional crafts and folk art of the city. And examples are ‘Crafts with Hearts...for Young Gen’: the Chiang Mai Lisu Twine Knotting project — ‘hands-on’ activities that facilitate an introduction and involvement in locally significant cultural production. The project is funded by Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organisation and Chiang Mai

University in partnership. Chiang Mai joined the UNESCO Creative Cities Network through this route in 2017.



Figure 4.1: *An example of hand-on activities by Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art (Author, 2017).*

The Thailand Creative and Design Centre (TCDC) is a nationally significant enterprise, with a satellite ‘TCDC Chiang Mai’, which opened in April 2013 (TCDC Bangkok was established in 2005). Publicly-funded by the government Office of Knowledge Management and Development (OKMD) — part of the Office of the Prime Minister — the TCDC’s budget is from the Bureau of the Budget, and so has a serious degree of responsibility. Director Inthaphan Buakeow had been working for TCDC Bangkok before being appointed to Chiang Mai, used Bangkok as a model before partnering and adapting the TCDC project to the city and its actors. The policy rationale for using Chiang Mai as the TCDC regional branch was threefold: its density of arts and cultural production, its artisans and a critical mass of creative workers, and the indigenous craft industry (Buakeow, 2017). The international airport and universities specialising in design and other

cognate disciplines were also infrastructural factors. However, the narrative here cannot be so seamless, and that the evolution of the TCDC did uncover some structural limitations in the urban creative economy it assumed was cohesive a robust: the feted craft industry was primarily geared to supplying a demand from outside the city, and not as traditional as once thought; the universities did not generate the critical mass of graduates for the city required for rapid economic growth; and the methodological approaches of the TCDC — ‘design thinking’ — remained quite alien to local producers, artisans and cultural professionals.



Figure 4.2: *TCDC Chiang Mai* (TCDC, 2012)

In 2016, Chiang Mai was preparing to apply for the UNESCO World Heritage Site under the project ‘Chiang Mai Historical City World Heritage Project’. It remains on the application list as the appointed team continues to work on the research of local urban planning, architecture and the community measures to support a heritage site of that premium level (Chiang Mai World Heritage, 2017a). A decision was made, however, to apply for the ‘serial nomination’ category of UNESCO World Heritage Site, in which a ‘site’ consists of two or more

non-contiguous areas (in this case, Chiang Mai Historical city and Doi Suthep). Other potential candidates remain a source of contention (Chiang Mai World Heritage, 2017b).



Figure 4.3: *Chiang Mai Historical City and Doi Suthep* (Chiang Mai World Heritage, 2017a)

As is becoming clear, the stimulation of the creative and cultural industries has been taking place by virtue of ‘projects’, some of which meet their aims, some of which change their aims, but all triangulate government (or its agencies), local professional communities and urban locations (sites, specific buildings or places). The most recent project in Chiang Mai is the ‘Chiang Mai Smart City’ — first initiated by the government Ministry of Digital Economy and Society. Three provinces in Thailand are selected for the patronage of this ‘city’ designation project and concomitant investment: Chiang Mai (Northern region), Khon Kaen (Northeastern region), and Phuket (Southern region), all secondary cities. The Digital Economy Promotion Agency (DEPA) is leading the smart city project to develop Chiang Mai as an innovation-driven destination. Opened in February 2017, DEPA extends from ‘smart’ agriculture, to air pollution, to enhancing the tourist experience in smart ways, and to integrating IT into the city infrastructure (Leesa-nguansuk, 2017).

In Chiang Mai, as elsewhere, it is now common for the three major stakeholders in any urban development project to be the government sector combined with educational institutions and some form of international player (an investor or development organisation). In Chiang Mai, almost all projects with an impact on infrastructure and economy are initiated by government agencies (in this case, DEPA, TCDC, Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organisation, and Chiang Mai Municipality), and this is where the initial policy aims are formed. Chiang Mai University (faculties of Fine Arts, Architecture, and Arts, Media and Technology) also provide technical expertise and project management contributions, and international players (UNESCO, British Council, and US Consulate General) can also supply a degree of policy contribution (though more often than not, discrete contributions in the form of funded projects adhering to the original policy aims).



Figure 4.4: *An example of a collaborated event held by the British Council at the Chiang Mai Design Week 2017 (Author, 2017)*

However, interview responses in Chiang Mai have testified to little cooperation between the main actors and agents of urban change and culture in the city. For instance, handmade-Chiangmai, a project from Creative Chiang Mai and the Northern Handicrafts Manufacturers and Exporters Association (NOHMEX), which is a website providing information about the craft industry in Chiang Mai (handmade-Chiangmai, 2017), overlaps greatly with Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art. They also have similar projects aims. Yet they are not synchronised, and the separate strategic roles each could play in a unified urban development is not effectively worked out. This exemplifies a common and chronic situation in urban cultural development anywhere in the world — the internal politics of governance include potential misunderstanding, socialisation, and identification with the city, clear guidelines of intellectual property, and so on (Boonyasurat, 2017; Buakeow, 2017; Venzky-Stalling, 2017). The Creative City introduces the challenge of unified governance and civil society alliances, which is not easy to plan, arrange or agree.

4.4 Creative Chiang Mai and Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative (UNESCO Creative Cities Network)

Creative Chiang Mai and Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative (the UNESCO network member) are the two main actors within the Creative City development, and they both have different aims. Creative Chiang Mai's framework is more traditional architecture and urban-planning-based and understands the city as primarily a physical construct and spatial arrangement of infrastructure and so on. Whereas the UNESCO network member's understanding of Creative City is "characterised by a more nuanced approach, sensitive to cultures and local differences" (Usai, 2016, p.47), that is, understanding urban culture as a people and activity-centred phenomenon. Consequently, Creative Chiang Mai's conception of creativity can encompass many of the city's industries as well as institutional space, whereas Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art

tends to prioritise the potential of the creative activities around, and generated by, historical and contemporary craft.

The logo of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art is *Nok Kin Nham Ruam Ton*, which means “birds drink water from the same tree”. It is derived from the traditional design of woven sarong and referring to Himavanta (the bird or swan is a sacred animal that is the symbol of harmony). It generally means the happiness of married couples — specifically appealing to the ideas of unity and harmony. Socially, it expresses how different people from different places and origins come to Chiang Mai to live together and to collaborate on craft and folk art work — consequently, the traditional culture of Chiang Mai is preserved (Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, 2019). The colours of the logo — green and brown — are earth colours and tones. The Creative Chiang Mai logo represents Chiang Mai city’s walls (history, strength, unity, culture), and the colours vaguely reflect the creativity of the people of Chiang Mai; the space in the centre is intended to represent open possibility — innovation and development (Creative Chiang Mai, 2014). Together, the logos are complementary and not competitive — the first appeals to tradition and history, the second to the more open complex world of today.

Concerning organisational structure: Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative is led by Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organisation and Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University. The initiative operates with a chain of command that is ‘top-down’, where the source of policymaking is also where strategies and activities are devised and programmed — from the Provincial Administrative Organisation and the Faculty of Fine Arts. Creative Chiang Mai, however, claims for itself an organisational identity as a local initiative, and which participates voluntarily. It was established by the Governor of Chiang Mai, and so carries a necessary official approval, but it is not government-funded, and members are drawn from civil society (including institutional and government sectors, which also allows it a

certain 'official' role but also takes a more 'holistic' approach to the city: Venzky-Stalling, 2017).

The main aim of the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative is to invest in the craft industry, but with strategic aims that include the increase in benefits for local people. The Initiative's programme aims at a collaboration between public, private, community, and education sectors in the city, and adhering to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network it attempts to engage with local economy as much as appeal to international discourses and be a global showcase for Chiang Mai's cultural assets (Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, 2019). The initial framework of the Initiative was the aforementioned Thai government policy initiative in adopting the 'knowledge economy' notion and making Thailand a hub of production, commerce, and service as articulated in the ASEAN economic vision. This was the purpose of the Eleventh National Economic and Social Development Plan (2012-2016) on focusing on economic development by promoting the creative city of the regional and local level for Thailand to become the Creative Hub of ASEAN.

For Creative Chiang Mai, they aim to create a more attractive urban environment using creativity, collaboration, and innovation to make an impact on economic and social development. Focusing on creativity, collaboration, and innovation, Creative Chiang Mai's objectives are "to promote an appropriate and sustainable development approach for Chiang Mai" through marketing the city by highlighting new strengths as well as the areas which are already well known (Creative Chiang Mai, 2014, n.p.). Their means by which the goal is reached is by marketing Chiang Mai, where the city is a financially appealing platform for new investments, business activities, jobs and new opportunities. Creative Chiang Mai focuses on creativity as an essential factor in development — but where the definition of creativity is broad enough to harmonise with UNCTAD's creative economy, appeal to traditions arts and heritage, and also new business start-ups

in innovation and design-based manufacturing. It is politically strategic that Creative Chiang Mai encompasses scientific, technical, and business enterprise as well as culture. Indeed, their combination signifies not only indigenous ownership and historical continuity, in a tradition-based society, but also a horizon of new opportunities for local people. Accordingly, Creative Chiang Mai engages in identifying existing domains for development investment and new strategic thinking —crafts, services, design, IT software and digital content are the embryonic ‘industries’ identified, and so legitimising their aspirations for investment, and this in term can mean investment in Creative Chiang Mai. For even though it is not eligible for core government funding (for operational costs), it can apply for project funding and hence leveraging public funds for investing in a new enterprise is an effective means of maintaining the organisation.

As noted, Creative Chiang Mai aims to generate enterprise and position itself within a devolved national economic agenda (create new jobs and business opportunities, and so on), whereas Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative, while specialist (craft) has broader socio-cultural aspirations — ultimately the UNESCO Network’s aspiration of, “promoting sustainable development focused on people and the respect of human rights” (UNESCO Creative Cities Network, 2017, n.p.), and brand Thailand is part of this. In terms of its crafts, wood carving, bamboo weaving, lacquerware, textiles, pottery, metalware, and paper umbrellas, all seem somewhat limited and heritage-based but are in fact intimately as interconnected with local economy as there is local and indigenous cultural identity. Also, the restoration and development of the craft industry have far-reaching consequences for the city when contextualised in a digital and export-oriented strategic framework. This is expanding with the Chiang Mai Design Awards (CDA), TEDxChiangMai, handmade-Chiangmai, CCM Goodwill Ambassadors, CNXP Chiang Mai Experience Festival, Entrepreneurship: GEW Chiang Mai, and Meedee Depot: Creativity in Education. In the next section, activities from Chiang Mai City of Crafts

and Folk Art and Creative Chiang Mai will be looked at regarding policy modes to analyse the direction of each actor and how they have applied the Creative City construct in the urban realities.

4.5 Chiang Mai's Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation

This section explores how Chiang Mai is adopting the Creative City discourse by employing Grodach's (2017) classification on modes of urban cultural policy and modes of creative cities policy. Activities from Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and Creative Chiang Mai will be analysed using the modes proposed by Grodach (2017).

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Public patronage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support artistic excellence • Enhance access to the arts • Promote national identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art grants • Cultural facilities • Heritage preservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations • Federal, state, and local governments
Economic impact of cultural amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase arts funding • Arts in growth coalition • Attract city centre investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment • Economic impact studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations • Local governments • Various development interests
Cultural planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community development and participation • Support local cultural expression • Neighbourhood economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community cultural engagement • Integrate arts in urban planning process • Support neighbourhood cultural projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations and residents • Community organisations and residents • Local governments
Cultural industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage marginalised communities • Recognition of cultural industries beyond "the arts" • Urban economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural industries in redevelopment • Rehab industrial districts • Study cultural production and agglomerations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural firms and intermediaries • Local government • Redevelopment interests

Table 4.1: *Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present*
(Grodach, 2017, p.84)

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Creative city strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth • Public participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities for redevelopment • Inter-agency collaboration • Public-private partnerships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups
Creative industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote R&D, intellectual property development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State and local government • Entrepreneurs • ICT, entertainment and media industries
Creative class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities • Urban branding and consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups

Table 4.2: *Creative city policy* (Grodach, 2017, p.85)

To begin with the urban cultural policy modes, Grodach (2017) characterises them into four modes (from the 1980s to present). These modes are (i) public patronage, (ii) economic impact of cultural amenities, (iii) cultural planning, and (iv) cultural industries. In addition to the urban cultural policy modes, Grodach (2017) also categorises creative cities policy into three policy modes: creative city strategy, creative industries, and creative class. It is evident that, according to Grodach (2017), the primary objective of creative cities policy is to attract high skilled labour and investment, and for the economic growth of the city. Activities of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and Creative Chiang Mai are analysed using policy modes of urban cultural policy and creative cities policy to see which policy mode each actor is aiming at. The activities are categorised into each mode of policy from their objectives and approach and are summarised into pie charts.

Year	Projects	Urban cultural policy	Creative cities policy
2014	The establishment of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art		
	Chiang Mai Design Week <u>What:</u> A week of a wide range of activities in the design-related field, including exhibitions, seminars, workshops, and Design Awards. <u>Who:</u> Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art works with TCDC Chiang Mai. They target creative workers in the design industry, business creator, youth, and public. <u>Where:</u> Various locations in Chiang Mai <u>When:</u> December (annually since 2014)		Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth 3. public participation Approach: 1. inter-agency collaboration Creative industries Approach: 1. promote R&D, intellectual property development
	Chiang Mai Creative Workshop <u>What:</u> Workshops on traditional crafts and arts from communities in Chiang Mai city centre and marginalised communities. <u>Who:</u> Local communities and a small group of individuals (per one workshop) <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai University Art Centre or local communities <u>When:</u> 1-2 workshops per month	Public patronage Objectives: 1. support artistic excellence 2. enhance access to the arts 3. promote national identity Approach: 1. cultural facilities 2. heritage preservation Cultural planning Objectives: 1. community development and participation 2. support local cultural expression 3. neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1. community cultural engagement 2. integrate arts in the urban planning process 3. support neighbourhood cultural projects Cultural industries Objectives: 1. engage marginalised communities 2. recognition of cultural industries beyond 'the arts' 3. urban economic development Approach: 1. rehab industrial districts	

		2. study cultural production and agglomerations	
2015	Chiang Mai Crafts and Folk Art Forum		
2017	Chiang Mai joined the UNESCO Creative Cities Network		
	Chiang Mai Crafts Fair Annually		
	Cultural Mapping <u>What:</u> A workshop for youth to collect data about crafts by an application <u>Who:</u> Youth <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai University Art Centre <u>When:</u> September 2017	Public patronage Objectives: 1. enhance access to the arts Approach: 1. cultural facilities 2. heritage preservation	
	Crafts for Life Chiang Mai Creative Space <u>What:</u> Exhibition and workshops <u>Who:</u> Young generation <u>Where:</u> Central Plaza Chiangmai Airport <u>When:</u> 10-30 September 2017		Creative industries Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. promote R&D, intellectual property development Creative class Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. quality of life amenities 2. urban branding and consumption
	Stories on traditional crafts and artisans <u>What:</u> The initiative publishes stories of traditional crafts and artisans on its Facebook page. <u>Where:</u> Online (Facebook)	Public patronage Objectives: 1. support artistic excellence 2. enhance access to the arts 3. promote national identity Approach: 1. cultural facilities 2. heritage preservation	Creative class Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. quality of life amenities 2. urban branding and consumption
	From a mountain to Silapacheep <u>What:</u> It is an exhibition of contemporary embroidery work from hill tribe. <u>Who:</u> Aiming at public <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai University Art Centre	Public patronage Objectives: 1. support artistic excellence 2. enhance access to the arts 3. promote national identity Approach: 1. cultural facilities 2. heritage preservation	

	Faculty of Arts' Teacher Ceremony <u>Who:</u> Targeted students, lecturers, and alumni <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai University <u>When:</u> May every year	Public patronage Objectives: 1. support artistic excellence 2. enhance access to the arts 3. promote national identity Approach: 1. cultural facilities 2. heritage preservation	
2019	Chiang Mai Creative City Exhibition		

Table 4.3: *The analysis of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art's projects using policy modes*

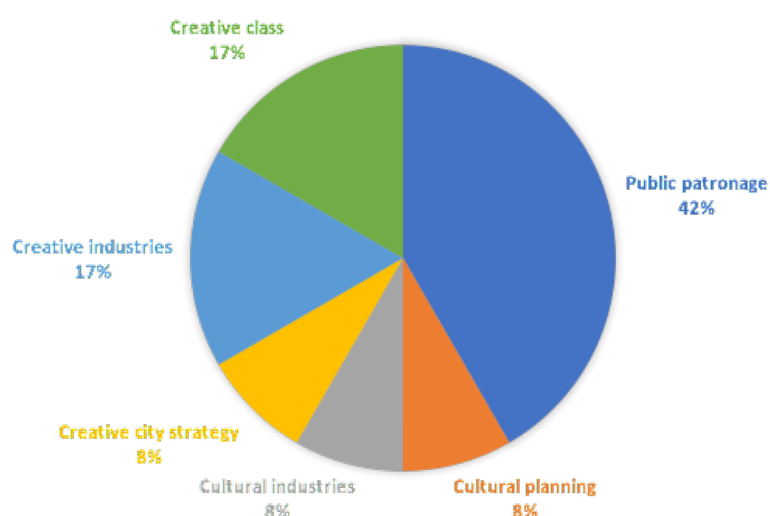


Figure 4.5: *Activities of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art in terms of policy modes*

From the chart, it can be seen that Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art's activities can be fitted into three modes of urban cultural policy, which are public patronage, cultural planning, and cultural industries. The activities also show the use of creative cities policies, which are creative city strategy, creative industries, and creative class. Objectives and approaches of activities offered from the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art can be categorised to almost half (42 per cent) to fit into public patronage policy mode as many activities are aiming to "support artistic excellence, enhance access to the arts, and promote national identity" (Grodach, 2017, p.84). The approaches that the initiative uses are cultural facilities,

community cultural engagement, and support neighbourhood cultural projects, whose embedded aims are to integrate community engagement with economic development: “to integrate the idea of culture as a way of life into the entire system of planning, arguing that cultural industries, craft, local heritage, and other ‘cultural resources’ functioned as a catalyst for development” (Dreeszen, 1998; Evans, 2002; Grogan, Mercer and Engwicht, 1995; Mercer, 1991; Stevenson, 2014; cited in Grodach, 2017, p.84).

An interview with Dr Woralun Boonyasurat, Director of the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, confirmed this reading of the conceptualisation of cultural value in the city. According to Boonyasurat (2017), there are two dimensions to the development of creativity in the city. First, a technology and enterprise dimension is supplied by Creative Chiang Mai. Second, tradition preservation is attended to by the Initiative. Further, the ‘preservation’ endeavour will offer content to projects using technology and digital. Boonyasurat sees the Creative City paradigm as a trend that the Thai Government adopted without fully ‘thinking through’ — and that the role of the people of the city should be the critical factor in development. Moreover, for Boonyasurat, creativity does not result only in economic development, but ‘happiness’, hope and other manifestations. There is no one understanding of creativity. This is why local community is central to the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative, as ‘craft’ is not a form of production that can be abstracted from community traditions of labour, inherited skills and technique, and a multitude of environmental factors. The creative cities policy modes, creative industries and creative class, were only 17 per cent for both categories (which show the objectives of “attract(ing) high skilled labour and investment, and economic growth”: Grodach, 2017, p.85).

Year	Projects	Urban cultural policy	Creative cities policy
2010	The establishment of Creative Chiang Mai		
2011	<p>TEDxChiangMai <u>What:</u> TEDxChiangMai is an independently organized TEDx event operated under license from TED. TEDxChiangMai is more than an event - it is a platform for ideas worth spreading, a dialogue, a call for action, and a community of people who believe in ideas, creativity, innovation and collaboration. <u>Who:</u> Young generation <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai <u>When:</u> Started in 2011</p>	<p>Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. arts in growth coalition 2. attract city centre investment Approach: 1. cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment</p>	<p>Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth 3. public participation Approach: 1. quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. inter-agency collaboration 3. public-private partnerships</p> <p>Creative class Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. urban branding and consumption</p>
	<p>handmade-chiangmai <u>What:</u> Handmade-chiangmai is a joint collaboration between the British Council and Creative Chiang Mai. It is a website that acts as an archive and platform for Chiang Mai's craft industry. <u>Who:</u> Creative Chiang Mai collaborates with the British Council, aiming at craftsmen, people who are interested in crafts, and business people. In this project, Creative Chiang Mai is represented by the College of Arts Media and Technology (CAMT), Chiang Mai University, the Chiang Mai University Science & Technology Park (CMU STeP), and the Northern Handicrafts Manufacturers and Exporters Association (NOHMEX). <u>When:</u> Launched in 2011</p>		<p>Creative industries Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. promote R&D, intellectual property development</p>

2012	<p>Chiang Mai Design Awards (CDA) <u>What:</u> It is an initiative that aims to promote innovation and creativity across a range of design categories. Each year, more than 20 voluntary judges (this year almost 40) and advisors dedicate their time to this award – many of them are well-recognized designers, university lecturers in relevant fields - or professionals with interest in design. <u>Who:</u> The CDA awards are supported by universities, the TCDC, as well as other private partnerships in the city. It aims at contemporary designers. <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai <u>When:</u> Annually since 2012</p>	<p>Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. arts in growth coalition 2. attract city centre investment Approach: 1. cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment</p>	<p>Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth 3. public participation Approach: 1. quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. inter-agency collaboration 3. public-private partnerships</p> <p>Creative class Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. urban branding and consumption</p>
2013	<p>CNXP Chiangmai Experience Festival <u>What:</u> CNXP is an annual music, photo & film, and tech conference and festival held in Chiang Mai. It includes daytime conferences, workshops, demos and evening entertainment. <u>Who:</u> Creative class is targeted. <u>Where:</u> Warm Up Café, Chiang Mai <u>When:</u> December 2013 and 2014</p>		<p>Creative class Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. quality of life amenities 2. urban branding and consumption</p>

2014	<p>Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network <u>What:</u> The Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network (SEACCN) is a network for creative cities and clusters in Southeast Asia. <u>Who:</u> This includes representatives from the cities, agencies, specialists, experts, groups and communities. The initial members include George Town (Penang, Malaysia), Bandung (Indonesia), Cebu (Philippines), and Chiang Mai (Thailand). <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai, George Town, Bandung, and Cebu <u>When:</u> Founded in 2014</p>		<p>Creative industries Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. promote R&D, intellectual property development</p>
	<p>Entrepreneurship: GEW Chiang Mai <u>What:</u> It is an event during the Global Entrepreneurship Week (GEW), including seminars and competitions during the GEW in November each year since 2011. <u>Who:</u> The annual activities during the GEW are organized in cooperation with the US Consulate General in Chiang Mai and the Chiang Mai University Science & Technology Park (CMU STeP), which targets entrepreneurs in Chiang Mai. <u>Where:</u> US Consulate General <u>When:</u> November (annually)</p>		<p>Creative class Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. quality of life amenities 2. urban branding and consumption</p>
2017	<p>Sound Muan <u>What:</u> Sound Muan (fun) is an event with TEDx style talks, performances, food and discussions. The event connects today's world with Lanna culture and heritage, enabling learning and creating an impact on the community. <u>Who:</u> The event is for young people in Chiang</p>	<p>Public patronage Objectives: 1. support artistic excellence 2. enhance access to the arts 3. promote national identity Approach: 1. cultural facilities</p> <p>Cultural planning Objectives:</p>	<p>Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth 3. public participation Approach: 1. quality of life amenities for redevelopment</p> <p>Creative class Objectives:</p>

	<p>Mai interested in identity and how our cultural heritage can be relevant, chic, and fun. <u>Where:</u> Chiang Mai House of Photography <u>When:</u> 16 September 2017</p>	<p>1. community development and participation 2. support local cultural expression 3. neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1. community cultural engagement 2. support neighbourhood cultural projects</p> <p>Cultural industries Objectives: 1. engage marginalized communities 2. recognition of cultural industries beyond 'the arts' 3. urban economic development Approach: 1. study cultural production and agglomerations</p>	<p>1. attract high skilled labour and investment 2. economic growth Approach: 1. quality of life amenities 2. urban branding and consumption</p>
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Table 4.4: *The analysis of Creative Chiang Mai's projects using policy modes*

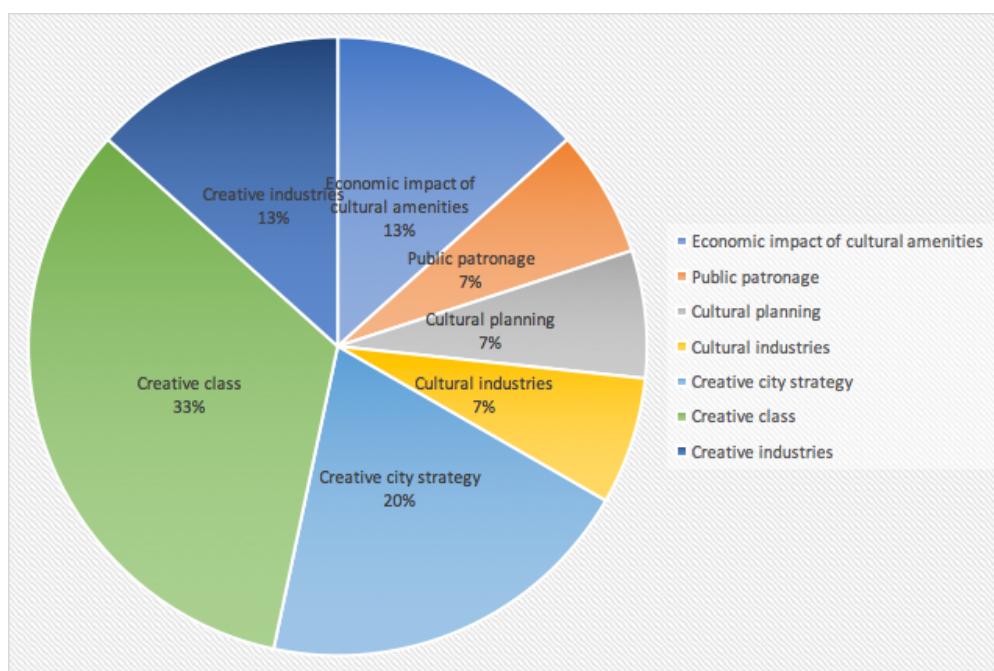


Figure 4.6: *Activities of Creative Chiang Mai in terms of policy modes*

Looking at activities offered by Creative Chiang Mai, a contrast between the two initiatives can be seen almost immediately. The categories that activities from Creative Chiang Mai fall into are creative class policy mode at 33 per cent, and creative city strategy follows at 20 per cent. Another 13 per cent focuses on creative industries policy mode, which means more than half of the activities are gearing towards creative cities policy. Under the urban cultural policy, projects from the Creative Chiang Mai focus on the economic impact of cultural amenities (13%), public patronage (7%), cultural planning (7%), and cultural industries (7%). The creative cities policy aims to attract high skilled labour and investment, boost economic growth, and engage public participation (Grodach, 2017, p.85). This analysis reveals that projects offered by the Creative Chiang Mai mostly intend to support the more economic benefit dimension of the Creative City approach. An interview with the Director of the Creative Chiang Mai revealed that the projects and events originate wholly from the committees of the Creative Chiang Mai, and where local government functions only in an advisory capacity. The reality of the work is there is no financial support from local government, but projects from Creative Chiang Mai are deemed more credible if under the local government's presence (Venzky-Stalling, 2017); that is, without local government, Creative Chiang Mai is regarded as acting as 'independent' of the city itself (i.e. as working towards goals specific to their members' interests only). It can be seen from the pie chart that the largest chunk of the projects from Creative Chiang Mai (33%) are oriented towards development and support for the Creative Class and with the objective of attracting high skilled labour and investment (i.e. economic growth). The organisation has conducted this through urban branding ('marketing' Chiang Mai) and events targeting at creative entrepreneurs and businesses, and Creative Chiang Mai promotes the city regarding investment, for example, by having Creative Mapping Resources and IT & Digital Company Directory.

In comparison, Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and Creative Chiang Mai have different development aims for the city; however, both have a great impact on the urban fabric of the city of Chiang Mai. From Grodach's (2017) classification, most of the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art's works fall under modes of urban cultural policy with the objectives that connect to the broader socio-cultural landscape of the city, such as, identity, community, local culture and contemporary arts; while, for Creative Chiang Mai, their projects categorically sort under modes of creative cities policy, ultimately aiming explicitly for economic growth (through the conventional business development of the creative industries). This next section will discuss if this coming of the Creative City discourse in Chiang Mai could lead the city into the trap of neoliberalism.

4.6 Chiang Mai and Neoliberalism

In the form of urbanisation, neoliberal capitalism has tended to 'position' cities in a hierarchical global network of competitiveness, and nation-state governments have become acutely aware of the economic performance of their cities, and not merely for national economic output. Cities are brands, platforms for markets, visitor destinations, incubators of innovation and growth, and sites of investment and foreign capital.

It is possible to phrase 'the production of the city' within a policy framework, given the dynamic and multi-dimensional forces of intervention, growth and political instrumentalisation to which they are routinely subject — both by their governing authorities and by the regional or global economy to which they are exposed (and often subject). The framework of neoliberal urbanism to which this thesis has appealed has enabled us to understand the generation of new spatial, social, and power relations, all of which play a role in constructing (re-designing, re-building, re-structuring) feed into the model of capital accumulation. The significance of this is that the city is now a dynamic process of change with substantial social and

cultural consequences — sometimes changing the very composition and order of society and culture through new laws and regulations, new patterns and standards of training, education and labour, new markets and symbolic good, new social hierarchies, and so on. The process of building the Creative City, where it involves phenomenon like new business development, the importation of new models of corporate management, new values, aims and aspirations, entails an in-depth study of the social and economic forces at work — and how they affect change in specific places. In this section, Brenner and Theodore's (2002) table of mechanisms of neoliberal localisation will be employed to present a fundamental analysis of the Creative City process and its elements — and only then we can ask if Chiang Mai may be prone to an open-ended process of reconstruction by neoliberal capitalism.

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Recalibration of intergovernmental relations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities; creation of new incentive structures to reward local entrepreneurialism and to catalyze "endogenous growth"
<i>Reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of bureaucratized, hierarchical forms of local public administration • Devolution of erstwhile state tasks to voluntary community networks • Assault on traditional relays of local democratic accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Rolling forward" of new networked forms of local governance based upon public-private partnerships, "quangos," and the "new public management" • Establishment of new institutional relays through which elite business interests can directly influence major local development decisions

<i>Re-representing the city</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas
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Table 4.5: *Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.369-372)

The creative city making of Chiang Mai relies much on independent organisations like Creative Chiang Mai, Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, and the satellite office of the Thailand Creative and Design Centre (TCDC). Brenner and Theodore (2002) identify this as a mechanism of neoliberal localisation, which is ‘reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state’, and which happens when new forms of the network are rolling forward instead of a traditional governance model of local democratic accountability. In the case of Chiang Mai, the agents of Creative City have very limited power of influence and not a role in local development decision-making — they supplement and provide content for a policy orientation and set of directions already established. Established in 2010, Creative Chiang Mai has already accomplished strategy work on Chiang Mai’s creative industries, (especially design and IT), and its annual Chiang Mai Design Awards demonstrates its standing and its contribution to the application preparation for the UNESCO Creative Cities Network should be acknowledged. Nonetheless, creativity defined in a way that is accessible only to closed professional networks — the design industry, and where ‘design’ is product-oriented (not social, or environmental, directly relating to the social culture of the city’s people and their quality of life).

Regarding using the category of ‘re-representing’ (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) the city as a mechanism, Creative Chiang Mai used the economic crisis of the late 1990s as a moment of ‘destruction’. When the Chiang Mai Creative City Committee adopted the term

Creative City, they argued economics (largely unemployment and job opportunities and the lack of graduate retention in the city's economy). Thus, they mobilised an entrepreneurial discourse, where 'Creative City' was inserted into the narrative of national development and national development policy. And this is articulated in their organisational objectives (creativity as impacts on economic and social development, and by extension the urban environment). Then 'marketing' the city is also a visible objective (Creative Chiang Mai, 2014), where the evident benefits or impacts of creativity are then made visible to attract visitors and investment.

Conclusion

This chapter has constructed a case study in responding to the initial thesis' research questions and attempted to explain how the Creative City policy notion has been adopted by the city of Chiang Mai. Identified and assessed was the work of two principle agents of Creative City development: the UNESCO City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative and Creative Chiang Mai — and for both, how they have adapted the 'creative' aspiration to the urban realities of the city.

UNESCO's objective for the Creative Cities Network is "placing creativity and cultural industries at the heart of their development plans at the local level and cooperating actively at the international level" (UNESCO Creative Cities Network, 2017, n.p.). Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art Initiative attends exclusively to the craft industry in order to achieve that, and this chapter tabulated their programme of activities chronologically so as to understand the strategic logic of application and characteristics that may be mapped onto the template of urban neoliberalism that is employed for critical reasons. The urban reality of Chiang Mai is complex: while the craft industry has become the focal-industry of the central Creative City designation (the UNESCO Network designation), in the city itself the policy focal point tends towards the national priorities of current technology-based industries. While on the level of policy, this is inevitable, it does not

follow that the craft industry is regarded as either a discrete 'industry' or simply of socio-cultural value — not potentially economic value. The elite interview conducted suggested that the lack of immediate connection between industrial output in craft and monetary value means that the craft industry remains low on the hierarchy of policy priorities, UNESCO notwithstanding (Boonyasurat, 2017). Therefore, the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art has invested its energies into drawing the young generation to the craft industry by organising events and projects and hoping that social interaction would break some of these associations as well as patterns of development.

Chapter 5 Case Study 1: Bandung (Indonesia)

As the second of the ASEAN case studies, we now consider Bandung — a secondary city on Java Island, Indonesia. As a part of the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network, Bandung is arguably one of the most progressive cities in its adaptation of the Creative City notion. In this chapter, the economic history of Indonesia will be considered as a way of understanding the urban economy and composition of the city, before attending to the Bandung Creative City Forum and the question of culture and urban neoliberalism in the city. Bandung will be examined by analysing projects from the Bandung Creative City Forum. This chapter argues that the development of Bandung as a creative city leads to the problem of re-representing the city, which is one of the neoliberal mechanisms.

5.1 Indonesia and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea

Indonesia, one of the five founding countries of ASEAN, is the world's largest island country and is situated between the Indian and Pacific oceans. The modern state (established 1949-1950) encompasses more than seventeen thousand islands in total and hundreds of different ethnicities and languages. Indonesia is the world's 14th largest country; and the 7th largest regarding the combined sea and land area, with an estimated population of over 261 million people it is the world's fourth most populous country (and most populous Muslim-majority country).

Indonesia underwent a transformation from agrarian-based to industrial-based economy in the 1980s. Government policy prioritised the private sector, investing in key industrial areas and allowing (from 1980-1990) significant foreign capital, especially for construction infrastructure and export-oriented goods. Before the 1997 Asian economic crisis, the growth of industrial sectors in Indonesia reached

a record of 8-10% (Narjoko and Hill, 2007). GDP composition by sector of Indonesia currently shows 13.9% in agriculture, 40.3% in industry, and 45.9% in the service sector (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017). Indonesia is now referred to by economists as a MINT country (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey) as it is fast-growing (British Council, 2014b) and, according to economist Jim O'Neill (who also coined the term BRIC), with emerging markets that are forecast to grow twice the pace as advanced G7 economies (G7: PwC, 2017b). In 2016, Indonesia was the eighth largest economy in the world (IMF, 2016), and is now predicted to be the fourth-largest by 2050.

The Indonesia national government had made many public statements in support of the creative economic potential for job creation, poverty eradication, an increase in national income (indicating the influence of UNESCO development aims). The Ministry of Trade defined the creative industries for economic policy use in 2007 by initially adopting the nine creative sectors from the UK DCMS (1997), since expanding them to 14: (1) advertising, (2) architecture, (3) art and antiquities, (4) craft, (5) design, (6) fashion, (7) video, film, and photography, (8) interactive games, (9) music, (10) performing arts, (11) printing and publishing, (12) computer and software, (13) television and radio, (14) research and development (Departemen Perdagangan, 2007, p.33). An action programme by 27 government ministries, institutions and local governments throughout Indonesia was included in the national policy for creative economic development (2009-2015) from 2008. The government then in 2011, launched the Indonesian Creative Economy Vision 2025, which conceptualises development and how the creative economy must develop the following as a matter of national economic priority:

- (1) Creative human beings with a creative mindset and attitude;
- (2) Industry-leading in the domestic market and abroad, with the nurture of local entrepreneurs;

- (3) Technology that supports the affordable creation of products and services by the Indonesian people;
- (4) Utilisation of domestic raw materials effectively by the creative industries;
- (5) People who respect Intellectual Property Rights and consume local creative products;
- (6) High trust by the financing institutions in the creative industries as an attractive and viable industry.

Initial studies since 2007 commissioned by the Ministry of Trade attempted to 'map' the economic contribution of creative industries, which resulted in two government 'white paper' or national policy statements: the above mentioned *Creative Economy Development Plan 2009-2015* and the *14 Sub-sector Creative Industries Development Plan 2009-2015*. Encompassing these are *A National Creative Economic Development Work Programme 2009-2015* that defines five main stages for the focus of activities in order to achieve the targets by 2015 as followed:

- (1) Improving the quality and dissemination of information on creative industries, including comprehensive studies of the industry, database development, and adequate information systems;
- (2) Functioning databases will be the basis for policy studies and guidance of the support the creative industries can expect from services provided by the Department of Trade;
- (3) Planning to create and stabilise the level of demand, improve productivity and efficiency to achieve the highest level of demand and stabilise a system of partnerships;
- (4) The creation of design excellence through product innovation, which combines local identity with current market expectations;

- (5) Intensive branding campaign to generate competitive advantage when compared with other similar products from other countries.

Supporting the growing network of creative industries and entrepreneurs, *Indonesia Kreatif* was founded by Indonesian Ministry of Trade in 2010 as a working group for creative economy development with the primary role as a hub agency, facilitator, and public outreach programme. It aimed to bring businesses, policymakers, and creative groups in Indonesia to build a creative industry information platform supporting policy-led development. The program still employs volunteers who have been involved in the initiation of the creative economy development of Indonesia since 2006, and the organisation maintains three primary strands: Creativepreneur (creation and capacity building program), Creative City (creation and development of creative cities program), and Creative Network (networks between creative leaders, creative businesses, communities, governments, academics, and investors, both within and outside the country). 'Indonesia Kreatif' functions as a slogan, and literally means 'be creative and proud of local identity', indicating a nation-building policy ethos. The organisation also hosts a portal developed as a creative industry database, comprising statistics of GDP contribution, employment absorption, import and export value, number of firms — added to which is a directory of creative professionals and research on key people, communities, and organisations. The primary purpose of the portal is to consolidate the professional and human development requirements for the sector, though information, identity and access.

The Indonesian government Cabinet 'reshuffled' in October 2011 saw a name change from the Ministry of Tourism to the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif/Kemenparenkraf). Led by former Ministry of Trade, Mari Elka

Pangestu, the creative economy is now subject to high expectations (as tourism itself is a huge and dynamic industry). After the reshuffle, three other ministries were given direct duties in relation to the creative economy (under the coordination of Kemenparenkraf, predictably the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry. All three ministries attempt to work in coordinated cooperation with a prior agreement plan (Pangestu, 2012). In 2012, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (MTCE) and the UK's Department for Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) signed a Memorandum of Understanding to collaborate within the new national policy framework commitments: this primarily involves the exchange of information and 'best practice' and also professional development. The British Council was tasked with leading on the MoU (whose period of cooperation was scheduled from 2012-2017), as they had already been active in the country with a previous programme supporting young creative entrepreneurs in fashion, design, music and screen industries (British Council, 2014b).

Four development factors in relation to the creative economy in Indonesia have been discussed by scholars: demographics, natural resources, economic development, and advancement in science and technology (British Council, 2014b). First, Indonesia has a vast and relatively young population, promising both labour, emerging domestic market, and social liberalisation; second, natural resources (material for manufacturing) in Indonesia is diverse and plentiful; third, given its diversity of labour and resource, the economic development of Indonesia has the potential to diversify from the outset, creating stability as well as growth; and fourth, the advancement in science and technology, and how it will be integrated with the above.

Economic development policies and commissioned reports (the ones that are published) often appear positive and identify developmental opportunities; however, academic research indicates inhibiting factors to development that include the following: government authority; the government policy process and its uneven implementation; local

financial management and the business sector; Indonesia's extremely diverse ethnic, cultural and religious character, and the national education system. All of these are complex matters of policy and practice but indicate how internally dependent an indigenous creative economy remains on other dimensions of the national economy, other industries, national standards of education and training, domestic markets and business practices, and the capacity for communication, coordination and entrepreneurial freedom for Indonesians. Post-colonial studies also raise concerns of the long term impact of colonialism and continued ethnic strife, particularly in the East. Social community, ethnic and local identity and history remain strong in Indonesia, yet there is a national investment priority for corporate workers directed towards the interests of established Multi-National Companies (MNCs), large private enterprises, and public-owned corporations. There are issues with regard scale and investment, and where HE education in business and management favours corporate scale business skills, not the less certain, multitasking role of the entrepreneur. The creative industries in Indonesia remain small scale and in an early stage of evolution, requiring ingenuity and improvisation; moreover, they primarily inhabit the urban centres and do not extend through the country evenly.

5.2 Bandung's Urban Economy



Figure 5.1: *Map of Java Island* (Westjavainc, 2018)

Java, the world's most populous island, contains more than half of Indonesia's population. Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is also situated on the northwest coast of Java island. Bandung, the case study of this thesis, is 180 kilometres southeast of Jakarta. It is the capital of the province of West Java and is situated in the mountainous area right in the centre of the province. West Java is known as a productive agriculture area, and the economy of the region historically depends greatly on agricultural activities, particularly rice cultivation. With natural beauty and rich culture, West Java attracts both domestic and international tourists to the province, making tourism one of significant parts of West Java economy. Since the West Java province is located close to Jakarta, following Indonesian independence in 1945, the province has become an important supporting region for the Capital Jakarta, which serves as the centre of business and political power of Indonesia. As a result, Bandung itself was developed as an industrial area to support the growth of Jakarta.

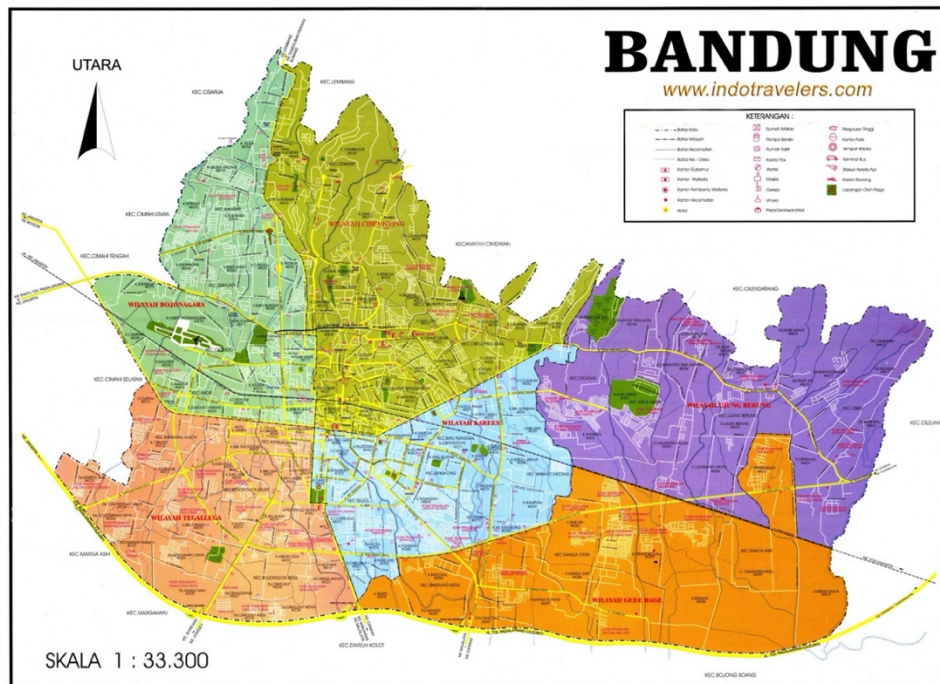


Figure 5.2: Map of Bandung (Indotravelers, 2018)

Unlike other capital cities in Indonesia that are located at the coast, Bandung is located on a highland, about 700 metres above sea level. This gives Bandung the benefit of generally pleasant climate with the temperature between 19°C to 23°C. Once a giant lake that was formed by the eruption of Ancient Sunda Volcano about 125,000 years ago, the city now sits in its habitable crater, surrounded by mountains. The natural beauty of the city was renown with travellers since the early 19th century; it is now alternately known as the Flower City, Parijs van Java (The Paris of Java), or Europe in the Tropics.

The colonial period for the city started in 1900 and lasted till 1945, and introduced the still functioning railroad, light industry and the Chinatown district. Since the Dutch colonial era “Bandung, which was just a small outpost at the start of the nineteenth century, gradually developed into an elegant and fashionable centre... Batik drawn from throughout other cities were displayed in Bandung after 1900, attracting trades from elsewhere in Dutch East Indies, as well as from British Malaya, Thailand, and Burma” (Hitchcock and Nuryanti, 1997,

p.xxvii). Bandung became a municipality in 1906, by the 1920s it has established a technical school, the city was extended with the plan to move the colonial capital from Batavia to Bandung, and the years shortly before World War II were the 'golden era' still exhibiting careful urban planning, architecture and infrastructural features like campus buildings, hospital, and municipal buildings. However, in 1946, facing the attempt to return of the Dutch Colonial, people of Bandung chose to burn down the city that it has become known as 'Bandung, Ocean of Flames' (Bandung Lautan Api: Soemardi and Radjawali, 2004). Political unrest during the early years of independence saw people sought refuge in Bandung, a four-fold increase in population between the 1940s and 1960s (to one million) in part generated economic growth, with the industrialisation and exportation of oil reaching high levels in the 1970s by the 1990s the city's population had doubled.

In 1955, the Asia Africa Conference was held in Bandung. It is the first large-scale conference of a meeting of 25 Asian and African countries, most of which were newly independent. It represented nearly one-quarter of the earth's land surface and a total population of 1.5 billion people and was regarded as a milestone of world-historical event and a precursor to the non-aligned movement. The conference was organised by five countries which are Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and India. The conference aimed to oppose colonialism by any nation and also to promote economic and cultural cooperation among attending countries. The designation of Bandung as the location of the Asia Africa Conference had a substantial effect on the infrastructure, the economic, and cultural condition of the city not least is its reputation. This has an enduring effect on the development of the city to become something of an icon in the development of creative industries, particularly in West Java and generally in Indonesia (Aritenang, 2012). Moreover, the city's cultural community, strong education sector, and abundant young people are the reasons linked with the legacy of the city's remarkable history that support the growth of the creative industries.

The early development of contemporary Bandung was informed by the Master Plan of 1971, which planned for the metropolitan centre at the regional scale that can be seen today. At the local level, the city is divided into several functional zones and residential districts, with the northern districts used for administration, education and tourism-related uses; the south is predominantly industrial, the central segments are commerce, tourism and culture. In 1985, a new Master Plan included three levels of planning: city, district, and technical level. Two years later, the city extended its administrative boundaries towards the conception of Greater Bandung (Bandung Raya) which includes plans for higher concentrations of development outside the current city centre. The city was a highly urban entity with a creative balance of a still present and visible urban structure.

In 1999, the municipal government of Bandung established a strategic vision for the city under the slogan 'Greater Bandung 2020: Friendly and Smart' — where 'smart' signifies "dynamic, efficient, productive, creative and innovative", while 'friendly' signifies "well-organised, safe, quiet, religious, clean, healthy, fresh, agro-based, interesting, natural, humanised, harmonic and prosperous". Strategically, the policy framework also articulated a purpose for the city, as 'Service City', optimising the city's potential in meeting challenges of economic globalisation in social, political and economic aspects. In order to achieve this vision, policy actions are stated as (1) restructuring the economic sector to become more competitive, (2) managing land and water use as well as air quality, (3) empowering citizens, and (4) promoting good governance in this city (Creativeconomy.Bandung, 2018).

In 2008, Bandung's Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Leadership (CIEL) conducted a mapping of creative industries in the city. According to their report, the two most significant creative industry sectors in Bandung are fashion and the design industry (CIEL, 2008),

two sectors that are supported by the existence of many design schools in the city. The ten largest creative sectors in the city identified by the mapping method are fashion, design, craft, printing and publishing, architecture, movies, music, multimedia, performing arts, and visual art. However, the CIEL report points out that creative companies in the city are not robust or large and need to be supported, especially with guidance related to business issues, considering that a lot of the companies are still very young, and their sales are considerably small.

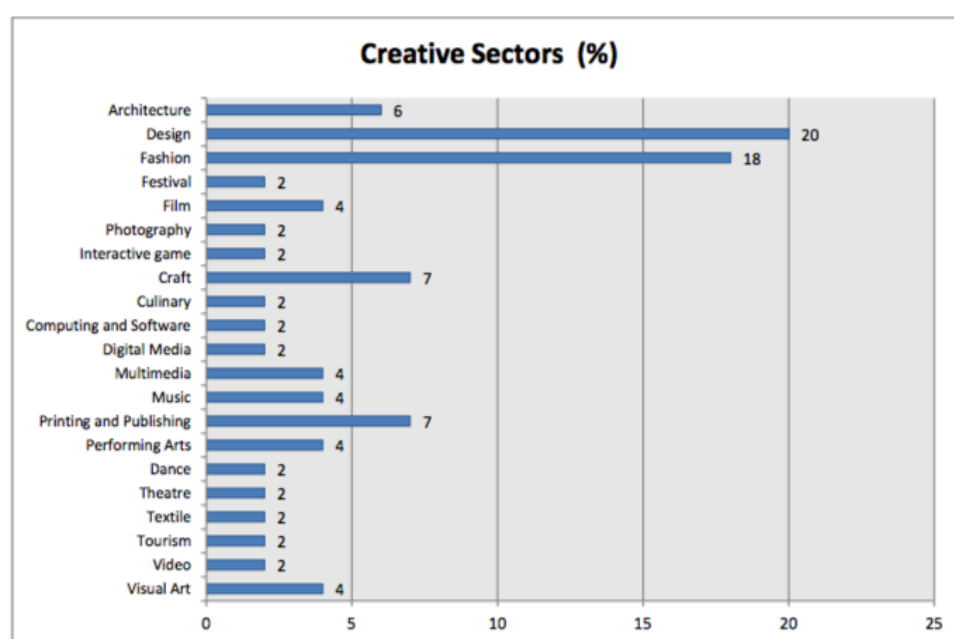


Figure 5.3: *Bandung's creative industries sectors* (CIEL, 2008)

Extrapolating from the Gross Edit Value analysis for sectors and sub-sectors in the creative economy mapping report, it can be concluded that the creative economy, notwithstanding its scale and vulnerability, is a credible factor that could determine the city's future economic output but more importantly add value in other ways. The creative economy sectors and sub-sectors that contribute the most are fashion and craft, while other design sectors, such as architecture and advertising, contribute broadly to the economic value production of the city. And yet, there remains no economic development strategy that is grounded on the broader 'value' framework. In addition, where

embryonic interest among the historic design and art communities in the city, its trajectory remains open-ended.

Nonetheless, the development of Bandung's creativity and culture can be witnessed in the evolving urban landscape: streets in Bandung — such as Ir. H. Juanda (a.k.a. Dago), LLRE Martadinata (Riau) and Cihampelas and streets surrounding universities such as Ganesha, Tamansari and Dipati Ukur — have changed significantly with the emergence of a range of design and creative-based businesses. As home to a large number of HE institutions (with 17 major HE institutions and numerous technical and vocational colleges), the city is characterised by student life). The Institut Teknologi Bandung, established in 1920, is Indonesia's oldest and most respected technical university. Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, established in 1954 as one of the first higher education institutions founded following Indonesian independence, is the leading education university. Universitas Padjadjaran, established in 1956, is one of the best universities in medical, law, communication, and economic studies.

In terms of the creative environment of the city, compared to other cities in Indonesia, Bandung's urban culture is characterised by young people, education and a sense of historical change that makes for a sense of social dynamism. Whereas Jakarta is best known for 'commercial', Yogyakarta for the centre of 'traditional' culture, and Bali for 'religious based culture', Bandung can be described as a city of 'creative culture', hence the vision 'Creative City'. With a highly energised, contemporary, and youthful human resource, many students and citizen-led projects in the city can be seen. The current population is almost 2,500,000 (as of 2017), almost equal in gender, growing by 1.8% per year, and with an urban density of 14,000 residents per Hectare. Nearly 70% of Bandung citizens are below 40 years of age (Creativeconomy.Bandung, 2018).

5.3 Bandung's Creative City Policy Development

The Creative City policy project in Bandung was adapted from the British Council framework, centring on educational and training programmes and professional workshops in the city. The British Council has played a significant role in pushing the Creative City notion in Bandung, and one of the important acts towards the development of the Creative City and creative industries in the city is it has ascertained the establishment of Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF). The reason the British Council selected Bandung for particular investment was its reputation for education, design, young population and heritage. They have invested in supporting networks and capacity building mechanisms in accelerating opportunities for graduates and young professionals, which signifies the lack of connection between the great educational institutions and the market or world of small business, start-ups and enterprise.

The first British Council programme involved a 'mapping' of the creative industries, taking into account professional networks, and providing events that allow for the sharing of experience and perceptions of the city between professionals and local government. Following that, they delivered the Indonesia Young Creative Entrepreneur (IYCE) programme, which awarded Ridwan Kamil, Fiki Satari, and Gustaff as three winners for the 2007 competition (who later collaborated with the British Council and local government for the establishment of the Creative City Forum). The IYCE had offered local artists benefits from the encounter with foreign artists, which can be seen in the 'Reimagining the city' scheme, where artists from the UK, D-Fuse, and Onedotezero performed visual art that combines various kinds of art forms like photography, DJs, graphic, music, and film to raise issues about space, identity, communities, and connectedness and its influence on the city. City artists have testified to the huge benefit from a study tour to other cities and scholarships to the UK.

The British Council then established the Creative Entrepreneur Network (CEN), which facilitated business, collaborations and learning exchange with fellow professionals (many participants were artists or other kinds of producers, not just enterprise managers). One crucial component of the Network programme was a regular panel discussion among policymakers, academicians, development agencies, and author. The British Council also involved the Department of Architecture ITB in organising the *Artepolis* conference in the creative community and the making of place. The conference emphasised the creation of space through the creative economy and the role of community.

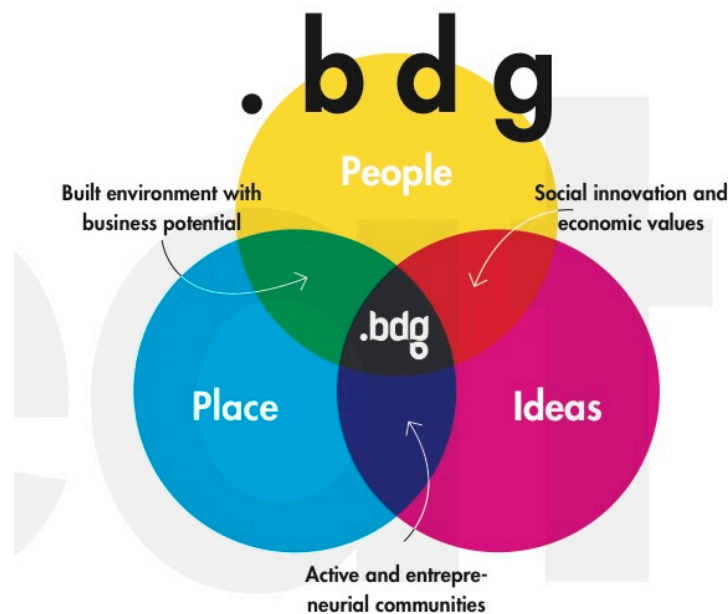


Figure 5.4: *Bandung's potentials* (Larasati, 2014)

On December 21, 2008, Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) was established by 50 independent creative organisations based in Bandung (British Council, 2014a). Their mission was to devise a strategic framework for making the city a leading international actor in urban-based creativity (ibid). The group has hitherto gathered members from across the creative industries and beyond, including the fine arts, clothing, fashion, music, urbanism, archives and libraries, design-based engineers and other people who align themselves

closely to BCCF's holistic approach. The published aims of the BCCF are (1) promoting creativity; (2) assisting in planning the improvements in city infrastructure as a means of supporting the development of the creative economy; and (3) creating more creative entrepreneurs and communities. As a recognised organisation in the city, it now plays an active role in the development of city branding strategies for Bandung as a Creative city (Cf. Larasiti, 2014).

Initially, the BCCF began as a form of activism from young professionals who, invigorated by both the British Council creative enterprise framework and the evident opportunities in the city, sought to establish the significance of the 'creative'. It remains an advocate for the creative aspirations of professional communities but has become increasingly aware of the complexity of the urban environment, supporting marginalised groups with a broader cultural awareness (British Council, 2014a). Since the election of Mayor Ridwan Kamil, an original founding member and former chair of BCCF, the BCCF also take more of an assisting role in the provision of local government and urban development. With Ridwan Kamil's lead, he recognises the power of grassroots collaboration as he states that "we want to make things happen. (We know that) a community effort is more powerful and sustainable" he explains (British Council, 2014a).

Ridwan's background in urban design provides him with a unique approach to urban planning. Initiatives such as the Regia City Forest, Bandung Food Festival and Picnics, stimulate social cohesion: "Instead of using policies, as the foundation for the city's development we take a special interest in the development of arts and culture in the city, especially to encourage community bonding" (Kamil, cited in British Council, 2014a, n.p.). The BCCF aims at using the '3C' approach: connect, collaborate, and commerce to link government, business sector, communities, and academics. Each sector is doing their role, as seen in the chart below.

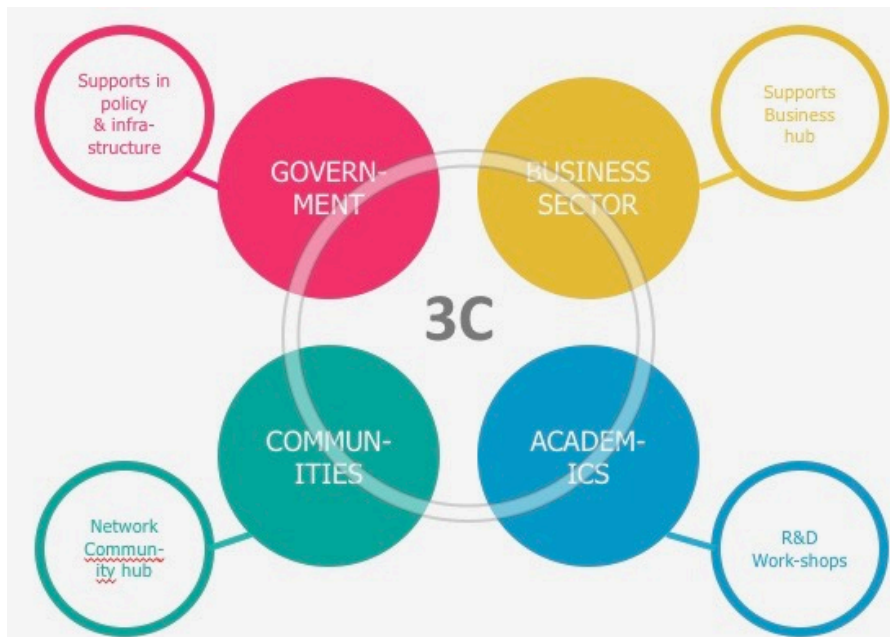


Figure 5.5: BCCF's '3C' (Larasati, 2014)

Through this framework, BCCF has initiated a number of successful projects identified by their partnerships in collaboration: (1) Simpul Institute, (2) Bandung Creative Centre, (3) Helarfest, (4) Creative Entrepreneur Network (CEN), (5) Kampung Kreatif, and (6) the brand .bdg. These projects have become embedded in the BCCF programme and future trajectory.

One means of the approaches used by the BCCF to their projects is 'spatial' — considering how each project occupies or operates within the space of the city. Public space has become a central concern of BCCF, as a developmental understanding of the potential of the creative economy in the city as an integrated urban force for change. In 2011, BCCF established obtained a huge landmark building, the Bandung Creative Hub (BCH), better known by its Indonesian name 'Simpul Space'. In 2012, BCCF inaugurated another Simpul Space, used continuously by the community for exhibitions, discussions, workshops, excursions, presentations, and community meetings. All activities in the space are designed to visibly meet the aims of producing creative value and togetherness.



Figure 5.6: *The new Bandung Creative Centre opened in 2017* (Sugandi, 2018)

In 2017, a new Bandung Creative Centre was opened by the lead of Ridwan Kamil and the Bandung City Government and estimated to cost about Rp. 50 billion (2.5 million pounds). The Bandung Creative Centre is the first creative centre in Indonesia and second in Southeast Asia, whereas as noted in the previous chapter the Thailand Creative and Design Centre (TCDC) in Bangkok was the first creative centre in ASEAN. According to Kamil, the Mayor of Bandung, “There’s an innovative studio (3D printer, laser cutting, textile printer, etc.), fashion studio, ICT studio, TV studio, music studio, ceramic studio, design museum, design store, design and art library, art gallery, design studio, cinema for experimental movie, classrooms, cafe and restaurant, co-working space, and space to hang out and study 24 hours” (Abidin, 2017, n.p.). The space is well used by the artist community. Events are held regularly. Co-working space is also offered in the building.

Apart from a brand-new building to support the creative community, BCCF also has *Helarfest*, a platform to showcase their creative work. An annual festival, which started in 2008, aims at presenting a variety

of creative economic potentials that develop in the city of Bandung. The event embodies various forms of exhibitions, concerts, workshops, conferences, performing arts, which take place for one to two months — and developed as a long-term strategy for the development of a sustainable creative economy platform. The examples of events that the BCCF holds during the festival including GeekFest, Ulin Nepo, KaSab, Bandung Not for Sale, Balik Bandung Project, 40 Days in Europe Film Showings, and Kabaret Festival.

To encourage entrepreneurial discourse in the city, Creative Entrepreneur Network (CEN) was formed by the BCCF and launched in May 2009. The purpose was originally conceived as a means of cultivating diverse types of a creative entrepreneur while consolidating a recognition of professional identities that move out of mainstream business and commercial activity and yet are a potentially significant part of the city. CEN provides an active programme of publicised networking events, skills-building sections, workshops, seminars, business clinics, and collaboration with similar organisations for local entrepreneurs. Members of CEN are those entrepreneurs from the BCCF, SMEs, companies that act as partners and supporters, creative communities, consumers, and students. The programmes may be short, medium and long-term, and are calibrated to produce developmental results in specific ways, supporting specific segments of the enterprise community with skills workshops or customer and client-oriented meetings. The closest CEN program is in partnership with Indonesia Business Link (IBL) in running the Young Entrepreneur Start-Up or YES! Club.bdg.



Figure 5.7: Logo of Kampung Kreatif

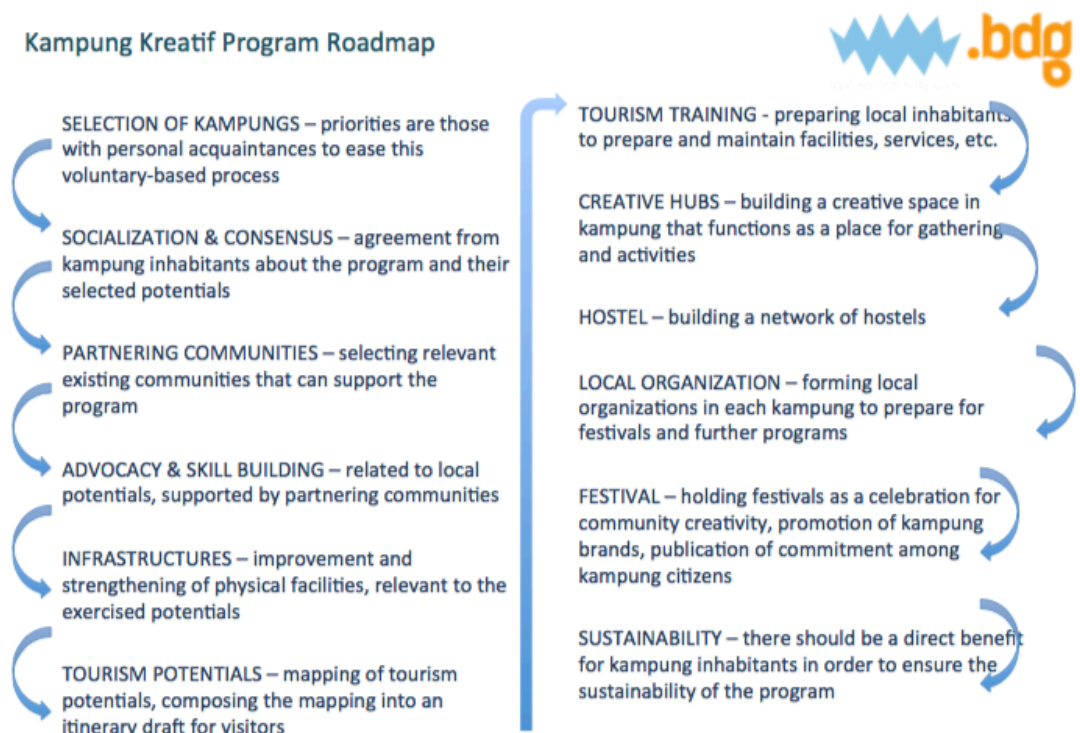


Figure 5.8: Kampung Kreatif Roadmap (Larasati, 2014)

Kampung Kreatif (literally meaning ‘creative village’) is a project — through significant collaboration between BCCF and the Bandung municipality — to maximise the potential of tourism for the city. The purpose of Kampung Kreatif is to address the deterioration in the quality of the urban habitat and find the means to increase community engagement and advocacy (with using creative events and workshops and so on) so as to stimulate an active involvement urban renewal (Larasati, 2014). Examples of the creative villages are Kampung Pasir

Kunci, Kampung Cicukang, Kampung Akustik Cicadas, Kampung Dago Pojok, Kampung Blekok, and Kampung Jelekong. The first village, Kampung Pasir Kunci, is located at the foot of Mount Manglayang, offering the scenery of rice fields, gardens, and fishing. Traditional Sundanese shows and songs are also provided at a visit. The second village was Kampung Cicukang, which is located on the railroad. This village offers puppet shows and theatre performances, houses have been painted and decorated colourfully by local residents, and various new improvisations have emerged, such as a musical band that uses kitchen utensils and devices as their musical instruments.

The third creative village in Bandung was Kampung Akustik Cicadas, a village once populated by singers. Although many such locals have changed their profession, most it is still common for residents to express cultural tradition and compose and play music. Colourful decorations have again been stimulated by the local residents' sense of attention, identity, visitors and a growing sense of the local community as a source of entrepreneurial business using existing assets. Another of the villages, Kampung Dago Pojok, is now renowned for its almost forgotten range of Sundanese art, and once neglected alleyways in the village now feature murals and given its proximity to the city and yet surrounds that include rice fields, rivers, and waterfalls, it now attracts many visitors and participants in local events. Other villages are themed — such as Kampung Blekok is a village for bird lovers, and so attracts photographers as well as nature-lovers; Kampung Jelekong, is renowned for paintings.



Figure 5.9: *Design Action logo*

Given the numerous projects and diverse landscape of creative life, marketing communications play an important role in differentiating activities, providing identity and recognition for each group, community or professional network, and publicising events to visitors in the city. Bandung city itself has been provided with a brand scheme under the title (dot).bdg, intending towards an abstract designation that represents all aspects of the creative economy in the city. The brand .bdg involves all quadro-helix: academia, business sector, communities, and government by using design thinking and innovative, applicable solutions to deal with urban issues. This unique identity of Bandung has become the brand the unifies the city as this place belongs to the people. Many other independent projects and associations can also utilise the brand identity scheme: for example, DesignAction.bdg is an annual international workshop-conference on design thinking to find innovative solutions for urban issues involving all stakeholders of a city: academia, business sector, communities, government, and media.

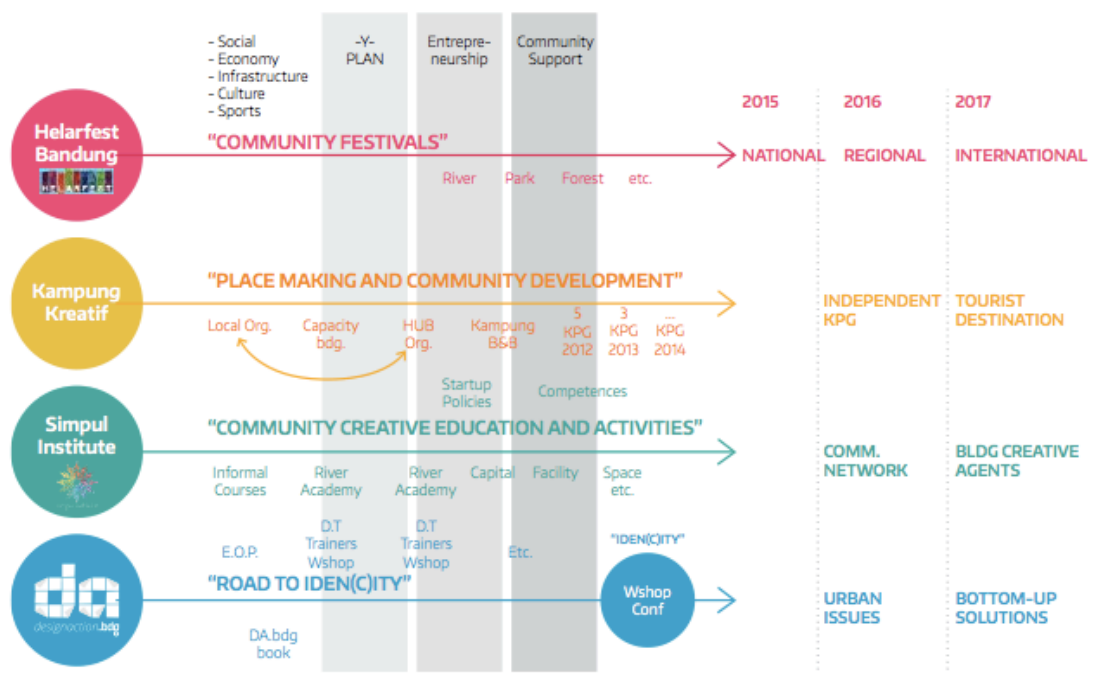


Figure 5.10: BCCF's projects roadmap (Larasati, 2014)

The BCCF has planned to use its growing programme of projects to address urban development challenges in the city as well as work for the expansion of creative culture, communities, enterprise and the wellbeing of cultural workers generally. Its diagrammatic representation of its programme emphasises a strategic role in general urban economic development (Figure 5.10). In the next section, these projects will be tabulated using the classification on modes of policies by Grodach (2017), followed by the 'destructive and creative moments of neoliberal localisation' table by Brenner and Theodore (2002) to assess their function within a proposed neoliberal economy.

5.3.1 Bandung's Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation

This section employs Grodach's (2017) classification on modes of urban cultural policy and modes of creative cities to investigate the direction of Bandung's Creative City trajectory. The six projects chosen in the previous section will be used to analyse modes of policy Bandung exhibits: these four modes are (1) public patronage, (2) economic impact of cultural amenities, (3) cultural planning, and (4) cultural industries. Table two presents modes of creative city policy,

which includes (1) creative city strategy, (2) creative industries, and (3) creative class.

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Public patronage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support artistic excellence • Enhance access to the arts • Promote national identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art grants • Cultural facilities • Heritage preservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations • Federal, state, and local governments
Economic impact of cultural amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase arts funding • Arts in growth coalition • Attract city centre investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment • Economic impact studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations • Local governments • Various development interests
Cultural planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community development and participation • Support local cultural expression • Neighbourhood economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community cultural engagement • Integrate arts in urban planning process • Support neighbourhood cultural projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts organisations and residents • Community organisations and residents • Local governments
Cultural industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage marginalised communities • Recognition of cultural industries beyond "the arts" • Urban economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural industries in redevelopment • Rehab industrial districts • Study cultural production and agglomerations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural firms and intermediaries • Local government • Redevelopment interests

Table 5.1: *Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present* (Grodach, 2017, p.84)

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Creative city strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth • Public participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities for redevelopment • Inter-agency collaboration • Public-private partnerships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups
Creative industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote R&D, intellectual property development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State and local government • Entrepreneurs • ICT, entertainment and media industries

Creative class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities • Urban branding and consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups
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Table 5.2: *Creative city policy* (Grodach, 2017, p.85)

Year	Projects	Urban cultural policy	Creative city policy
2008	The establishment of the Bandung Creative Forum Helarfest	Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. Arts in growth coalition 2. Attract city centre investment Approach: 1. Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment	Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Inter-agency collaboration 2. Public-private partnerships Creative industries Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Promote R&D, intellectual property development Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Urban branding and consumption
2009	Creative Entrepreneur Network (CEN)		Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Urban branding and consumption
	Kampung Kreatif	Publish patronage Objectives: 1. Support artistic excellence 2. Enhance access to the arts 3. Promote national identity Approach: 1. Art grants	

		2. Cultural facilities 3. Heritage preservation Cultural planning Objectives: 1. Community development and participation 2. Support local cultural expression 3. Neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1. Community cultural engagement 2. Integrate arts in urban planning process 3. Support neighbourhood cultural projects	
	DesignAction.bdg		Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. Inter-agency collaboration 3. Public-private partnership Creative industries Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Promote R&D, intellectual property development Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption
2011	Simpul Institute	Public patronage Objectives: 1. Support artistic excellence	Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth

		<p>2. Enhance access to the arts Approach: 1. Cultural facilities</p> <p>Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. Increase arts funding 2. Attract city centre investment Approach: 1. Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment</p>	<p>3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment</p> <p>Creative industries Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Promote R&D, intellectual property development</p> <p>Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption</p>
2017	Bandung Creative Hub	<p>Public patronage Objectives: 1. Support artistic excellence 2. Enhance access to the arts Approach: 1. Cultural facilities</p> <p>Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. Increase arts funding 2. Attract city centre investment Approach: 1. Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment</p>	<p>Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment</p> <p>Creative industries Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Promote R&D, intellectual property development</p> <p>Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption</p>

Table 5.3: *The analysis of Bandung's projects using policy modes*

Above, the objectives and approaches of each project are used to classify the policy mode. Each type of policy mode is then grouped to calculate the percentage out of the whole focused six projects from the BCCF, as shown in the pie chart below.

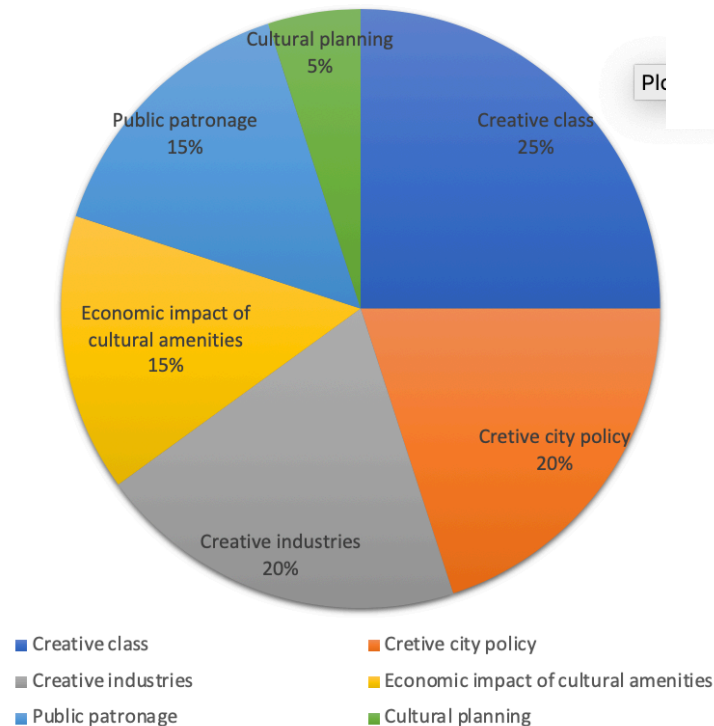


Figure 5.11: *Bandung's policy modes*

The pie chart shows that the main policy mode of BCCF is the creative class (25%), though there is no huge distance from the creative city policy (20%) and policy for the creative industries (20%). Urban cultural policy for the economic impact of cultural amenities (15%) and public patronage (15%) are tied, leaving 5% to a policy mode for cultural planning. This confirms that the BCCF is aiming towards the Creative City policy as shown in the majority of the projects (65% from the creative class policy mode, the Creative City policy mode, and the creative industries policy mode). This result will then be used in the analysis for the urban neoliberalisation in the city.

5.4 Bandung and Neoliberalism

Urban studies scholars have examined the impacts of neoliberalisation on cities (Brenner, 1999; Jessop, 1997; MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999). First, neoliberalism in cities narrows the options open to decision-makers whether they are elected or not (Dryzek, 1996). Neoliberalism emphasises global competition; therefore, decision-makers in cities are pushed away from distributing social policies. Economic growth will be the main focus of policies in cities. This includes things such as the promotion of entrepreneurial discourse through the city to encourage economic activities. When the market-led logic is applied in the society, public policies, that only promise little short-term result, do not seem to be valid. In the end, the disciplinary structures of neoliberalism make the market-led logic the common logic run in society (Purcell, 2011, p.47). Second, urban decision-making structures are becoming less open to democratic debate. Since cities must compete in the global market, they have to respond to making decisions quite quickly. Normally, democratic decision-making tends to take time and open to considering new options. It is, therefore, as slow and inefficient, which will not attract and keep capital (Miller, 2007; cited in Purcell, 2011, p.47). Third, the logic of 'fast policy transfer' dictates that urban governments adopt ready-made policy ensembles developed in other places rather than engage the city's public in generating policy through democratic debate. Most of the time, citizens and their representatives are replaced in decision-making by businesspeople and economic experts. Non-profit, volunteers, and community organisations are replacing governments as primary service providers, which means the decisions that shape the city are increasingly being transferred out of the control of the state and its citizens (Brownhill et al., 1996; Keating, 1991; Peck, 1998; Tickell and Peck, 2003; Ward, 2000, cited in Purcell, 2011, p. 48). It is argued that neoliberalism's fundamental values create more general problems with social cohesion as it adopts the classical liberal emphasis on individual self-reliance, and neoliberalism also exercises unevenly. Urban neoliberalism in

Bandung will be identified using the ‘destructive and creative moments of neoliberal localisation’ by Brenner and Theodore (2002).

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Interlocal policy transfer</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erosion of contextually sensitive approaches to local policymaking • Marginalization of “home-grown” solutions to localized market failures and governance failures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diffusion of generic, prototypical approaches to “modernizing” reform among policymakers in search of quick fixes for local social problems (eg welfare-to-work programs, place-marketing strategies, zero-tolerance crime policies, etc) • Imposition of decontextualized “best practice” models upon local policy environments
<i>Transformations of the built environment and urban form</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces • Destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment • Retreat from community-oriented planning initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption • Construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns • Creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other “purified” spaces of social reproduction • “Rolling forward” of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization • Adoption of the principle of “highest and best use” as the basis for major land-use planning decisions
<i>Re-representing the city</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas

Table 5.4: *Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.369-372)

In Bandung, the apparent mechanism of neoliberal localisation is interlocal policy transfer. The Creative City notion was brought into the city by the British Council, and this led to the marginalisation of 'home-grown' solutions to localised market failures and governance failures, and this is the moment of destruction of the neoliberal localisation. Stakeholders of the city see the Creative City notion as a fast solution that would fix urban issues, and this is the moment of creation of the neoliberal localisation. They would not think thoughtfully of an alternative way, rather than this market solution. However, it can be seen that stakeholders in Bandung are trying to involve the community as much as possible, but this could still turn to be a part of neoliberalism in the long run as discussed following.

Another mechanism of neoliberal localisation is transformations of the built environment and urban form (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). The moments of destruction that happened in Bandung are the destruction of traditional working-class neighbourhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment and the retreat from community-oriented planning initiatives. These moments can be seen in the Kampung Kreatif project where traditional villages in Bandung have been turned to be creative villages to create flow and growth in the economy, and this stops the planning initiative from the community. Each village is destined for one thing. It is true that these are called creative village; however, it is limiting the real creativity of the community. What could happen is the gentrification of the area when the area is well developed – working-class locals cannot afford the rent and houses are turned into other spaces that would create greater value from the adoption of the principle of 'highest and best use' as the basis for major land-use planning decisions.

Besides, the Kampung Kreatif also represents another mechanism of neoliberal localisation, which is the restructuring strategies of territorial development. What happened was the increasing exposure of local and regional economies to global competitive forces by having the

creative villages as a tool for economic competition as a part of the creation of new development area and mobilisation of new 'glocal' strategies intended to rechannel economic capacities and infrastructure investments into 'globally connected' local/regional agglomerations.

It is also claimed that the Kampung Kreatif project helps with the sustainable development of the city in terms of environment, economy, and social culture, as followed:

Economic: local people or communities should be able to gain an entrepreneurial mindset and to gradually self-sustain themselves by relying on their own skills and efforts

Social-Cultural: local people or communities should be able to express themselves and explore their own characteristics inclusively, particularly through creative activities

Environmental/ Artifact: there should be a physical object/artefact that not only reminds the people/ communities about their creative potentials but also becomes a tool for their creative expressions while maintaining the quality of their living habitat (Larasati, 2014).

Firstly, by gaining an entrepreneurial mindset and being able to self-sustain themselves by relying on their own skills and efforts sounds like a great start for the sustainable community; however, if looked closely, this implies the stepping back of the state's responsibility to provide basic needs for its people, which supports the neoliberal strategy. Secondly, locals are not given the freedom to express themselves when 'creativity' given by the state is forced to them. Under the neoliberal ideology, they are likely to see market solutions as their lives' goal. Lastly, a physical object or an artefact could stamp an identity of only one majority group. It needs to be thought of really carefully.

Moreover, the mechanism of neoliberal localisation in Bandung is re-representing the city. Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on the urban disorder, 'dangerous class,' and economic decline, and it is fixed by the mobilisation of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalisation, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas. Bandung was first recognised as a colonial city – a city that was left behind after the glorious period. Spaces in the city were seen as a dangerous place. The BCCF 'fixed' it by installing large .bdg letters to change the use of the space. From then on, the brand .bdg is used for marketing the city so it will be recognised by the global market. These are some of the examples of how neoliberalism has made its way into the city of Bandung. Without a good understanding of sustainable development and the development of the city, the Creative City discourse could be a Trojan horse for that city.

Conclusion

Indonesia maintains a national policy concern for the creative economy, which can be evidenced by the evolution of national economic policy since 2007 and the commitments of the three main Ministries of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Ministry of Trade, and Ministry of Industry. However, while the Creative City is a component of creative industry policy, it remains submerged within a spectrum of other economic development commitments. The Bandung Creative City Forum is still an independent organisation with little funded operational support from government at any level, even though as Mayor Ridwan Kamil asserted (and formal chairman of the BCCF), the city's development maintains a direction towards Bandung identifying as a Creative City.

There are eight issues that the BCCF needs to resolve: green open space, heritage sites and building, traffic and urban mobility, environment, public space, entrepreneurship, social and culture, and

art, design and built environment (Larasati, 2014). Projects aiming to respond to these issues are arguably neoliberal in complexion, insofar as individualism and a market-led logic are primarily visible. Yet, as can be seen with the BCCF's orientation to the city, including community, develop the urban landscape and environment. In the final analysis, changes in Bandung are done mostly through the 're-representing the city' mechanism of neoliberal localisation where the city is branded under the creative discourse as can be seen from the promotion of brand .bdg, the new Bandung Creative Centre, and Kampung Kreatif.

Chapter 6 Case Study 2: Cebu (Philippines)

The city of Cebu, a member of the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network and secondary city of the Philippines, is another ASEAN creative leader. This chapter will explore how the Creative City discourse has been adopted by Cebu and adapted to its urban realities (RQ 2) and define its relation to our framework of neoliberalism (RQ 3). The Philippine government has paid significant attention to the creative industries, and the Creative City notion. Through the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), organisations like Creative Cebu Council and *Create Cebu* have practised ‘fast urban policy’ in some interesting ways. The central argument of this chapter (as with all the case studies) is that the appropriation and adaptation of the Creative City policy notion in Southeast Asian cities make it quite distinct from their European counterparts. While there is a derivative element, there is also significant innovation in the use of ‘fast policy’ for urban economic development. Cebu is also different as it is not a comparable post-industrial complex, and its ‘catch-all’ use of the Creative City phrase is in one sense opportunist but in another its interlocal policy transfer demonstrates an interesting innovation.

6.1 The Philippines and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea

This part aims to respond to the RQ ‘How has the Creative City construct been adopted by Cebu, and adapted to its urban realities?’ To do so, the historic socio-economic context will be reviewed, along with the development of the creative industries and the Creative City discourse. The literature on Philippine creative industries and Cebu in particular (specifically the Creative City is limited). The research sources used in this section includes reports, government documents, and news articles. The main source reports are *A Primer on Creative Industries and on Digital Content Goods and Services in the Philippines* by Cesar S. Tolentino (2008), and *The Philippine Creative*

Economy: Toward a Baseline & Programme by Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy (2017). These two reports attempt to represent the integrated landscape of creative economy and creative industries in the Philippines. Government documents originate mostly from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), but as such documentation is only concerned with national macro-economic growth, development or specific creative projects often go unreported, and there is little official evaluation or publicly published donor reporting. News articles are used to glean background information, as a source of the fact to follow the results of creative projects.

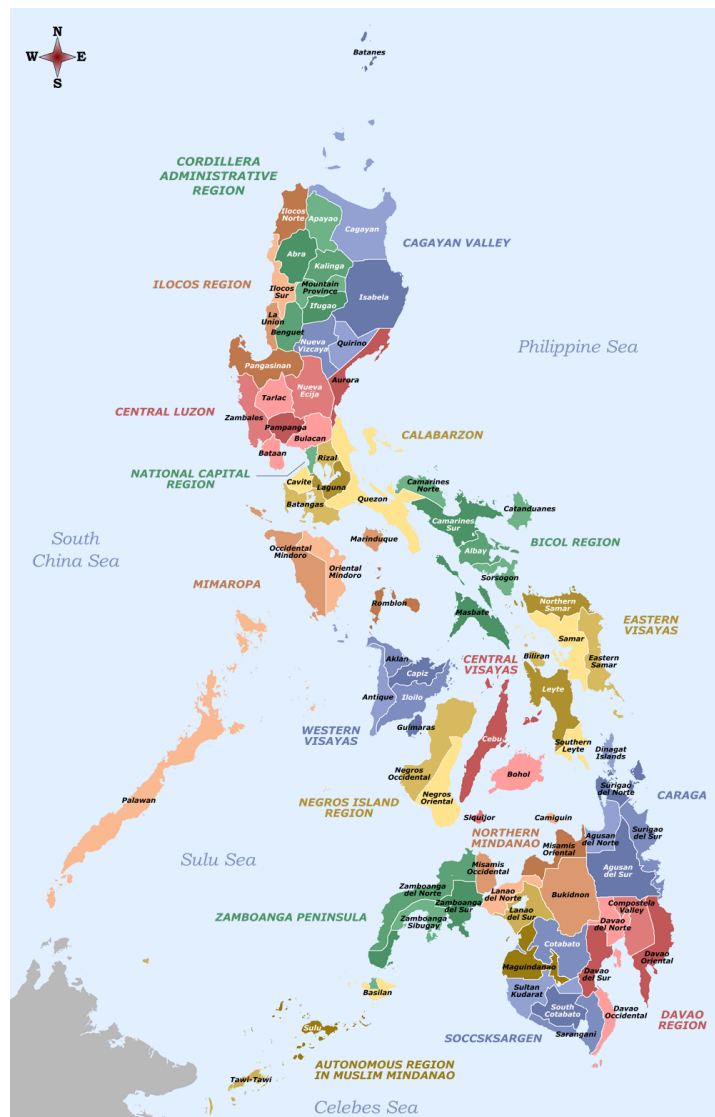


Figure 6.1: Map of the Philippines (Rizal, 2019)

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago in Southeast Asia. It consists of more than seven thousand islands located between the Philippine Sea and the South China Sea, but with only 11 islands out of seven thousand are urbanised for its fast-growing population of 104 million people. These islands are sub-divided geo-politically into three groups: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. Luzon is the largest and northernmost grouping, where Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, is located. The Visayas is in the centre, anchored by Cebu — the Philippines' recognised 'secondary' city, and Mindanao, which is home to a sizable Muslim population in the south-west. The area of the Philippines is 300,000 square kilometres (115,831 square miles). Situated in the Ring of Fire, the country is prone to earthquakes and eruptions from around 20 active volcanoes, and also regular typhoons and other storms. The Philippines had been a Spanish colony for more than three centuries before it was taken over by the United States in the early 20th century after a protracted rebellion against rule from Madrid. (The country was named after the 16th-century Spanish king). Japan occupied the Philippines during the Second World War (1941-1944); however, the United States retook the Philippines shortly after. Self-rule in 1935 was followed by full independence in 1946 under a United State-style constitution. Nowadays, Spanish and the United States influences remain strong, especially concerning language, religions, and government. The dominant religion of the Philippines is Christianity, and official languages are Filipino and English.

The Philippine economy is the world's 34th largest economy by nominal GDP (IMF, 2017). In Asia, it is the 13th largest economy, and the third-largest in ASEAN after Indonesia and Thailand (ibid). In Southeast Asia, the emerging markets of the Philippines rank in the sixth by GDP per capita values after Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia (ibid). As a fast-growing country, the Philippine economy is projected to be the fifth-largest in Asia and 16th biggest in the world by 2050 (ibid). The country is still considered a newly industrialised country, which has an economy transitioning from

an agricultural-based economy to more services and manufacturing-based economy. Primary exports of the country include transport equipment, copper products, petroleum products, semiconductors and electronic products, garments, coconut oil, and fruits. Major trading partners are the United States, Germany, the Netherlands, Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, China, Taiwan, and Thailand.

Together with Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam, the Philippines has been named the Tiger Cub Economies as newly industrialised countries that attempt to follow the same export-driven model of technology and economic development that is already achieved by the rich high-tech industrialised developed countries of Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore. The Philippines is currently one of Asia's fastest-growing economies; however, notable social characteristics include a systematically widening income gap, growing disparities between different regions, socioeconomic classes, corruption, and investing in the infrastructure remain the problems of the country.

The Philippines' Creative Economy

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) is a government agency dedicated to developing the Philippines' creative economy. In general, "the DTI is responsible for realising the country's goal of globally competitive and innovative industry and services sector that contributes to inclusive growth and employment generation" (Department of Trade and Industry, 2018). Along with other key agencies such as the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and the Design Centre of the Philippines, they are committing towards a strategic development process to position the creative industries as a key driver for inclusive growth and competitiveness across the country (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2017). Apart from national agencies, there is also increased engagement from international partners, like the British Council, which shares the UK

expertise in supporting the development of an effective approach to the creative economy of the Philippines (ibid).

The creative industries provide significant trade opportunities for the Philippines. The creative industries in the Philippines, which include sectors like advertising, digital art/ graphic design, animation, game development, film, and performing arts, contributed 661 Billion Peso (Ruiz, 2017). It comprised 7.34% of the country's total GDP and employed 14.4% of the labour force (ibid). Other than becoming major contributors to GDP, the creative industries in the Philippines are also a means for cultural promotion (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2017). Moreover, the rapid development of digital technologies will open up new distribution platform channels domestically and for export (ibid). As a result, this introduces opportunities for expanding the type of services offered, with the potential movement toward those niches, high-value services currently dominated by producers in North America, Europe, and other parts of Southeast Asia (ibid). This could be perfectly applied to the Philippine context as the country has deeply rooted traditions in music, performing arts, craft, design, and film. Numerous products are stemming from these traditions; however, they have not been transformed into sustainable domestic markets and exports which will lead to revenue earning, job-creating, and it will contribute substantially to the economy (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2017).

As discussed above, the creative industries would provide benefits to the Philippine economy and society. Therefore, there have been attempts to map and measure the creative industries of the Philippines over the last decade in order to obtain a clear picture of the creative industries; however, like other countries in Southeast Asia, it is hard to obtain due to the limited data available, as well as the various methodologies and definitions. In 2008, one of the earliest attempts to describe and codify the sector was by Cesar S. Tolentino, who did desk-based research to explain the global potential of the creative

industries by utilising the UNCTAD's definition and approach on digital content goods and services in the Philippines. The critical observations by Tolentino are important to our narrative and include the following:

- (1) The Philippines appears to be globally competitive in the handicrafts and cultural event segments;
- (2) The visual arts are not yet a key strength, but the sector is growing and gaining in international recognition;
- (3) Personal, cultural and recreational, and R&D services are increasingly key segments of the Philippine domestic economy;
- (4) The Philippines is probably best-placed to develop its creative services, utilising digital capacity and English language to drive growth in local market development and exports for sectors such as publishing (including digital content); audiovisual (including animation and online broadcast materials from film, television and radio broadcasts); design – including interior, graphic, and fashion design; new media – including software goods and services, and video games (also called entertainment software); and additional creative services e.g. architectural, advertising, and other cultural content services that utilise an online delivery system (Tolentino, 2008).

Given the country's global status as a developing economy, it is instructive to consider these points of growth so as to understand the possible national rationales that may motivate support for a national 'creativity' policy. To date, policy evidence can testify that national government acknowledges the importance of creative industries. In 2010, the government-supported various activities that led to an initial *Creative Industries Roadmap*, which was prepared by the ABS-CBN Foundation led by Dr Eduardo Morato. In the same year, the Joint Chambers of Commerce also released 'ARANGKADA 2010', an advocacy paper which identified creative industries as one of the seven big industry winners that would accelerate growth and investments in the country. Followed up the 2010 *Creative Industries*

Roadmap, an extensive sector-driven report was written in an attempt to update the Roadmap with the latest available data from the National Statistics Office (NSO), industry associations, and various data portals. The various definitions of the creative industries are provided in this report seeking to describe the value chain, summary sector performance, and identify specific strengths and opportunities for the country; however, the data is based on measurement pre-2010, and micro-businesses were very under-represented in the data. Besides, the Annual Business Survey does not collect data for businesses of under ten employees, which is normally classified as 'informal'. It is likely that very significant areas of economic activity have not been measured in the Philippine Creative Economy as a large proportion of the micro business sector was not included (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2017).

Moreover, the Philippines' ICT Roadmap included some subsectors of the creative industries. Of particular important is Republic Act 10557 or the Philippine Design Competitiveness Act, which is "an act promoting and strengthening Filipino design, providing for the purpose a national design policy and renaming the Product Development and Design Centre of the Philippines into the Design Centre of the Philippines and for other purposes" (Philippine Design Competitiveness Act of 2013, 2013). The Philippine Design Competitiveness Act Section 9 mentions the National Design Policy that "the NDP shall serve as the State's strategy in promoting design as a driving force towards sustainable economic growth and development and a catalyst for increasing the competitiveness of the country in the global market" (ibid). The main goals that the NDP needs to meet are (i) global competitiveness, (ii) institutionalisation and promotion of design culture nationwide, (iii) creation of an environment to cultivate a constant demand for good design, (iv) design protection, (v) design education and professional development, and (vi) institutionalisation of design as an effective problem-solving tool (ibid). This could be done through the creation of the Design Advisory

Council (DAC), which is a public-private partnership that will serve as an Advisory Council to the Design Centre. The DAC composes of 15 members from the following government departments and offices: Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), Department of Tourism (DOT), Department of Education (DepED), Commission on Higher Education (CHED), and Department of Science and Technology (DOST). The DTI oversees the Design Centre. It is mandated “to promote design as a creative tool for improving the quality and competitiveness and branding of Filipino products in the global market; as a strategic tool of value creation for sustainable economic growth and development; and as an innovative tool for enhancing the quality of human life” (Philippine Design Competitiveness Act of 2013, 2013). The Design Centre is in charge of the creation of the National Design Policy, design awareness, design integration, design for development, and design and innovation (ibid).

In April 2017, the DTI organised the ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition for the regional leaders. The forum is a four-day programme, which features talks from experts in the creative industries field, like Professor John Howkins, a renowned British author on the creative practice. Other topics of the talks are about soft power and nation-branding, finding creative talents, success stories on design and digital entertainment, and exchanging experiences on how to build hubs that can ultimately sustain the economy and can also nourish people in the arts (CNN Philippines, 2017). The ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition also aims to establish the DTI and the Design Centre as a key player in the development of the Philippine creative industries particularly in the area of design (ASEAN2017.ph, 2017).

In October 2017, the DTI held CREATE Philippines to present and place the creative industries as a key driver of the economic growth (Ruiz, 2017). CREATE Philippines serves as an idea hub and trade

fair that highlights four high-potential creative sectors, which are advertising content and production, digital games and apps, film and animation, and performing arts. There are three types of activities in CREATE Philippines. The first one is the creative hub and talks (CHAT) that is formed as a forum for creative professionals for knowledge sharing (Ruiz, 2017). The second type is the ARTALIVE exhibition which showcased the Philippines' creative heritage, contemporary products, and global influences in modern design, visual communication, animation, music, and film. The last activity is Music Fest, which features performances from homegrown independent and mainstream artists (Ruiz, 2017). Nora Terrada, DTI Undersecretary for Trade and Investments Promotion Group, stated that "CREATE Philippines will streamline the nation's long-term goal of developing creative cities in the Philippines under the UNESCO creative cities network. It will accelerate the roadmap for the development of the country's creative industry as we introduce the Creative Economy Council of the Philippines as the new generation of industry champions" (Terrada, 2017; cited in Ruiz, 2017, n.p.).

CREATE Philippines is also a collaborative effort between the private and public sectors, including institutional partners National Commission for the Culture and the Arts (NCCA), the Board of Investments (BOI), the Design Centre of the Philippines (DCP), the Cultural Centre of the Philippines (CCP), the Philippine Trade and Training Centre (PTTC); industry partner Creative Economy Council of the Philippines (CECP); and supporting organisations Game Developers Association of the Philippines (GDAP), Animation Council of the Philippines (ACPI), Association of Accredited Advertising Agencies Philippines (4As), Filscap, Philippine Association of the Record Industry, Inc. (PARI), and PhilPop (Ruiz, 2017). For the Design Centre of the Philippines (DCP), CREATE Philippines can act as a venue for Filipino designers to collaborate with other artists and making their products viable for business (Matute, 2017; cited in Ruiz, 2017). Moreover, the Creative Economy Council of the Philippines

(CECP) has brought together different creative industry organisations to share ideas on how the Philippines can be an international creative powerhouse (Mercado, 2017; cited in Ruiz, 2017). For the CREATE Philippines event, the council brought in Filipinos who have been successful outside the country. Paolo Mercado, the founder of CECP, believes that by bringing people who have succeeded in the international scene would help widen the perspective of what Filipino can do internationally (Mercado, 2017; cited in Ruiz, 2017). He also emphasises on using these stories to discuss scalable business models that the Philippine creative industries can emulate (ibid).

In order to develop Philippine creative industries, government agencies collaborate with international players like ASEAN and significantly the British Council. The British Council plays a significant role in the creative industries and Creative City development in the Philippines. British Council recognised Cebu as a Creative Capital of the Philippines in 2008. Apart from being an English language learning centre, the British Council Philippines also works on arts and creative industries, education, and society (British Council Philippines, 2018). The creative industries programmes supported by the British Council are creative enterprise training, interagency consultations on Philippine creative industries, ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition, and the report: fostering communities – the creative hubs in the Philippines. The creative enterprise training is the first programme that started in 2015. It is a training that partnered with innovation agency Nesta. They have done it in Cebu and Manila. British Council and Nesta hope that the training programme will be able to be replicated in other cities across the Philippines. Moreover, the interagency consultations programme is led by Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, involving many government agencies, namely the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), the Design Center of the Philippines (DCP), Department of Trade and Industries-Bureau of Investments (DTI-BOI), Intellectual Property Office Philippines (IPOPIL), Department of Finance (DOF), National

Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), National Museum of the Philippines and Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF), and other government representatives. For the ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition, the British Council helped with the preparation of the event, as well as giving workshops and talks from UK experts on the day of the event. Last, the British Council has researched the Philippine creative hubs with the focus of Metro Manila and nearby provinces.

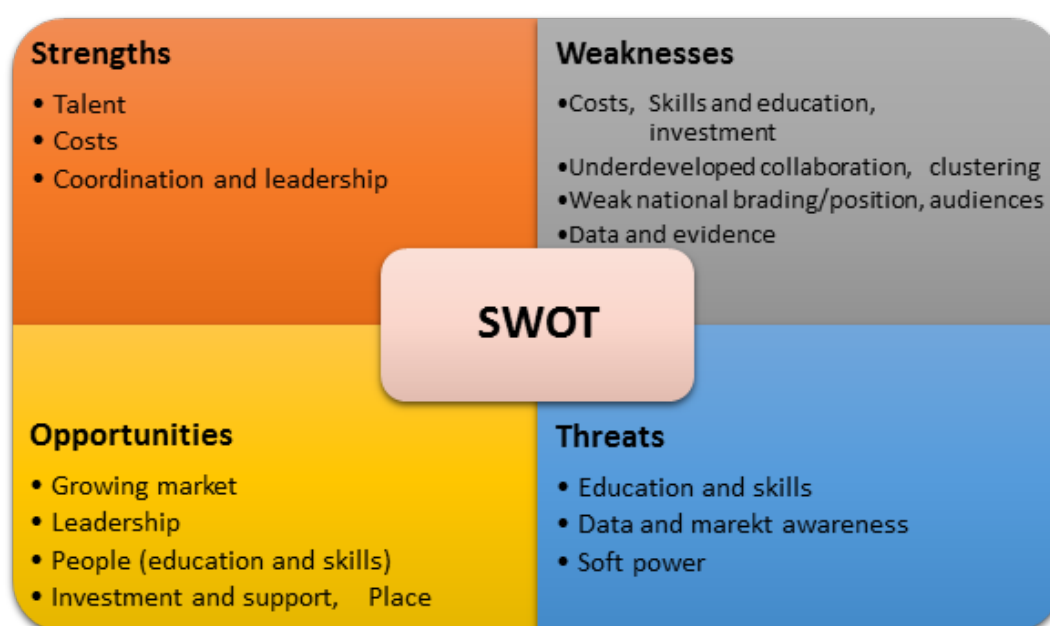


Figure 6.2: *SWOT analysis of the Philippines' creative industries* (illustrated by author, adapted from Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2017)

The extensive sector-driven report of the 2010 *Creative Industries Roadmap* generates some rich and useful qualitative information on the profile and dynamics of the creative industries in the Philippines and also provides its own outline SWOT analysis of the creative industries of the Philippines. The outline SWOT analysis was then augmented with additional data from Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy from discussions with focus group discussion with the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and the British Council. And as shown in Figure 6.2, the strengths of the Philippines'

creative industries are articulated as talent, costs, and coordination and leadership. It is claimed that talent in the Philippines points to the availability of a large, skilled, creative and educated workforce with close familiarity with Western culture and proficiency in the English language. The costs to produce creative goods in the Philippines are also not high. In terms of the coordination and leadership, the presence of highly organized professional niches and industry associations is a strength – especially in comparison with the very emergent industrial coordination in other ASEAN countries.

The weaknesses of the creative industries in the Philippines are costs, skills and education, underdeveloped collaboration, weak national brand and positioning, data and evidence, investment, audiences, and low levels of clustering. Despite having low costs in producing creative goods as one of its strengths, there are high market entry costs for certain types of creative activity – e.g. film and some elements of gaming. Apart from this, the underdeveloped collaboration of government agencies and local and foreign market collaboration is also a weakness of the Philippines' creative industries. Many government departments and agencies are working on the creative industries without clear ownership and a lack overall of policy literacy. Besides, weak national brand and positioning cause the Philippines a problem in creative industries' development as the country cannot develop a focused country brand, and the creative industries are not presented strongly in inward investment, tourism, and soft power activities.

However, there are indicated opportunities for the Philippines' creative industries, which are its growing market, leadership, people, investment and support, and place. Rising per capita incomes, advances in modern technology and increasing international demand for creative goods and services are catalysts for the growth of the Philippine creative industries. The creative industries can play a transformational role in the quality and competitiveness of cities and

regions across the Philippines. There are opportunities to nurture significant cluster developments across the country.

For the threats to the Philippine creative industries, education and skills, data and market awareness, and soft power could be a threat to the country's creative industries. Regarding education and skills, there are growing concerns over the quantity and quality of labour supply in the country. This particularly relates to technical skills for specific creative sectors (e.g. in gaming, audiovisual, etc.); creative skills (e.g. in scriptwriting); and core skills such as creative entrepreneurship and management. For data and market awareness, data has still been Philippines' big problem in the development of the creative industries. That is because of the lack of consistent, high-quality data, and inadequate data collection systems. This implies that policy and investment are less informed by evidence, and it is also hard to measure the growth of the creative sectors over time. It could become an 'evidence-based policy-making' rather than a 'policy-based evidence-making' (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2017).

In the next part, Cebu's background and its actors in creative city making will be discussed to answer how the Creative City discourse has been adapted to the urban reality of the city.

6.2 Cebu's Urban Economy

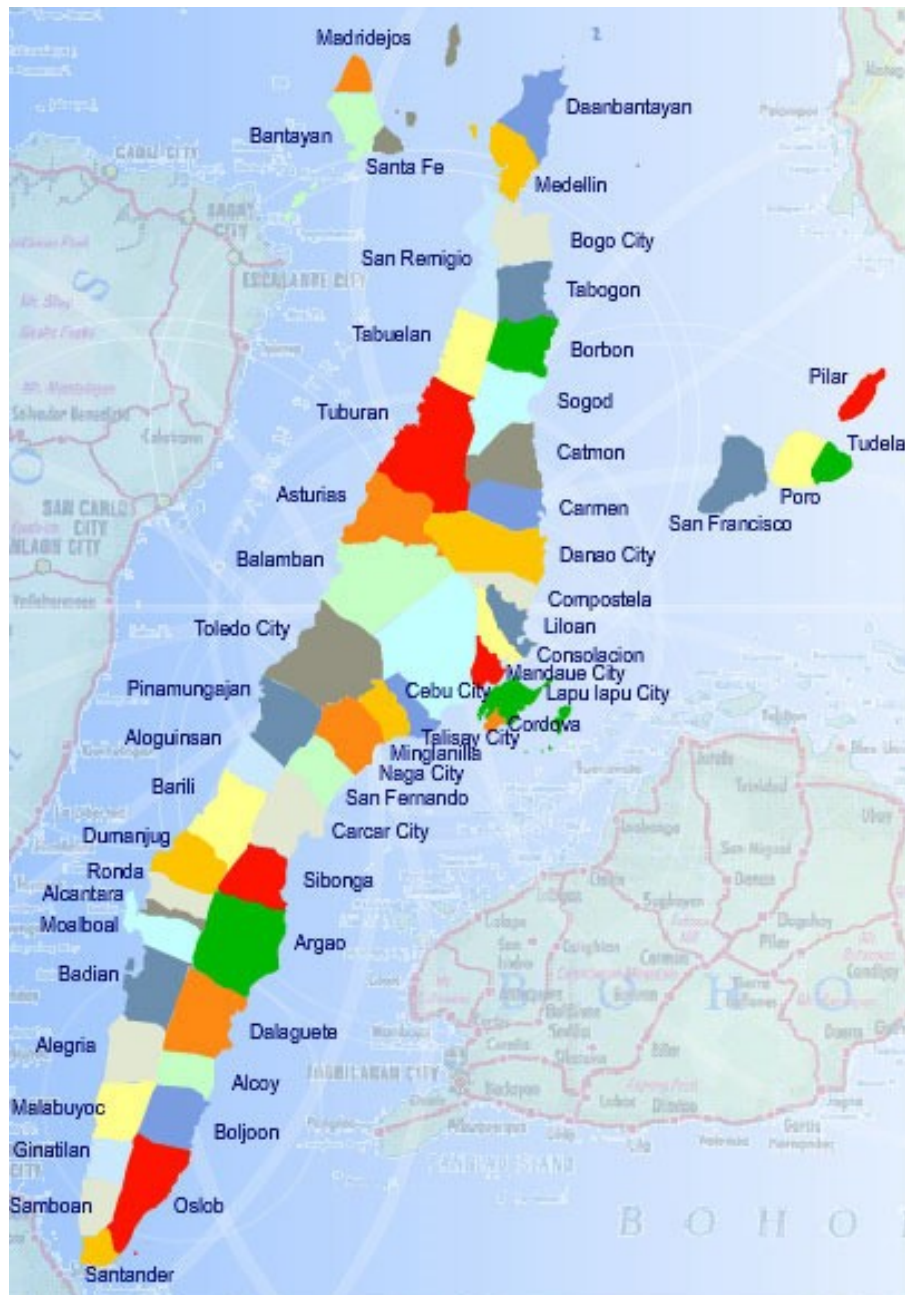


Figure 6.3: Map of Cebu (Cebu Provincial Government, 2018)

Cebu is a province in the Philippines located in the Central Visayas Region. The province includes Cebu Island, as well as other 167 smaller islands. Cebu Island itself is long and narrow, 196 kilometres (122 miles) from north to south and 32 kilometres (20 miles) across the widest point and is the ninth-largest island in the Philippines. The population is over 3.5 million people, of which 2.3 million live in Metro

Cebu. The capital of Cebu is Cebu City, which is the oldest city and also the first capital of the Philippines. Cebu City is politically independent of the provincial government. The Cebu Metropolitan Area consists of seven cities: Carcar City, Cebu City, Danao City, Lapu-Lapu City, Mandaue City, Naga City, and Talisay City.

The name 'Cebu' comes from the old Cebuano word 'sibu' or 'sibo', which literally means 'trade'. It is a shortened form of 'sinibuayng yawa' or 'the place for trading'. This is because its land could not support agriculture. Thus, Cebu became a place for trade and the crossroads for merchants all over ASEAN and China (PwC, 2017a). The Rajahnate of Cebu was a native kingdom which existed in Cebu before the arrival of the Spaniards. It was founded by Sri Lumay or known as Rajamuda Lumaya – a half-Malay, half Tamil prince of the Chola dynasty who invaded Sumatra in Indonesia. The Maharajah sent him to establish a base for expeditionary forces to subdue the local kingdoms; however, he went against the Maharajah and established his own town instead. The arrival of Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan in 1521 began a period of Spanish exploration, trade and colonisation, the Spanish ceded it, as compensation to the USA, who ruled from 1899-1935, during WWII, the Philippines was ruled by Japan, then in 1946, the country became independent — falling into dictatorship. The 'People Power Revolution' gained a modern democracy in 1986, but with a sizeable corrupt bureaucracy in place, the decision-making processes of public policy and governance.

Like the rest of the Philippines, Cebu is traditionally Catholic, with over 80% of its population practising (devote and church-going). When the local Filipinos embraced Christianity, they infused it with much of their indigenous practices, which brings to the unique fusion of language, cuisine, and culture. There is also a large proportion of the Filipino population that has some Chinese descent, and their presence in the Philippines predated the Spanish, and as one of the trading classes, many Chinese Filipinos had close relations with the Spanish. This has

made the Chinese Filipinos emerges as the most influential economic class in many cities, including Cebu.

One of the significant challenges in Cebu is the complex system of social class, a legacy of its colonial past and not always clearly visible to the uninitiated eye. In Cebu, surnames indicate their position within the class hierarchy, and inevitably those with Spanish and Chinese blood have more power than others. Even though community matters greatly in Cebu, there are huge divides along class lines. Those considered higher in the class chain are more influential than others, and this also appears in the arts. The Art Council of Cebu is a body established in 1960 by artists around seven art forms, and it eventually became the *de facto* organising entity for the arts in the city. People working for the Art Council are primarily from the more elite classes. Therefore, it tends to focus heavily on classical arts through programmes like a scholarship scheme and a festival (Creative City South, 2017). Although the Art Council is currently undergoing a phase of transition by trying to include (in their terms) 'younger influencers', there is much to be done to shift the mind to a more postcolonial approach as these changes have to be made in respect to the organisation's mission, partners, goals, and operations (ibid). In Cebu, the elder elite classes have a robust Eurocentric approach to art, recognising the value of the art forms that reflect the colonial tinged perspective, sometimes without valuing other forms of creativity. This means folk practices and contemporary forms of art-making are not placed at the same level. As a result, practitioners who work outside of the old Eurocentric mode struggle to find support.

Regarding education, Cebu is the educational centre for two-third of the Philippines. It has over 1,000 private and public elementary schools, 200 secondary schools, six universities, 28 colleges, ten workforce training centres and an average annual population of 130,000 college students (Department of Trade and Industry, 2018). Major industrial activities in Cebu are Industrial parts assembly, food

processing, furniture, stone craft, garments, fashion accessories, electronics, camera and camera paraphernalia, gifts and housewares, electrical equipment manufacturing, coal and dolomite mining (Department of Trade and Industry, 2018). Concerning accessibility, Cebu is the most accessible place in the country. It is base to over 80% of the inter-island shipping capacity of the Philippines (ibid).

According to the Department of Trade and Industry (2018), the quality of life is an essential factor people consider when they decide to settle in Cebu. Housing rentals are less expensive than other cities in the region. Health care in the city is also of a high standard. Cebu offers a good education system with excellent schools. In the university level, many universities in the city are in the international standard. It is the educational centre for the central and southern Philippines, and many graduates remain to seek employment locally. Besides, transportation in Cebu is good. There are an international airport and public transportation in the city is plentiful, but it could sometime be crowded. A new computerised traffic control system helps with the traffic through the city, even in peak hours.

As the second-largest city and the fastest growing economy in the Philippines, Cebu has demonstrated its capability with an excellent economic record. Cebu has a leading role in exporting furniture, fashion accessories, carriage and gifts, housewares, and toys. In terms of the accessibility to the city, it is the most accessible place in the country, with domestic air and sea linkages. Cebu is also a tourism gateway for the central and southern Philippines. Most importantly, Cebu is claimed to be a cosmopolitan area with all the support facilities and amenities needed for an ideal lifestyle (Province of Cebu, 2018).

6.3 Cebu's Creative City Policy Development

In Cebu, several actors work towards making Cebu as a creative city. The three main actors are the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) Cebu, Creative Cebu Council, and *Create Cebu*. The DTI is responsible for realising the country's goal of a globally competitive

and innovative industry and services sector that contributes to inclusive growth and employment generation (Department of Trade and Industry, 2018). Its mission is to enable business and business environment and at the same time, reduce the cost of doing business to facilitate trade and investments. The DTI Cebu also works towards global competitiveness and industry cluster management. In their effort to support local SME's DTI Cebu changed its mandate from subsidising creative services for SME's to developing linkages among various sectors to answer their creative needs.

Creative Cebu Council was established in 2009 as a non-profit private sector composing of nine key founding members representing Cebu's diverse creative industry sectors. They saw the Cebu creative industries achieving global competitiveness and the establishing of Cebu as the creative capital of the Philippines by the British Council in 2008. However, the Cebu's growing reputation in design and the arts did not help create an awareness of its full potential for the many fragmented players. Therefore, a core group of creative industry players were organised in 2009 to harness the potential for growth via creativity as the competitive advantage. They seek to advocate creative entrepreneurship in Cebu through the establishment of a creative entrepreneur network and develop Cebu into a creative entrepreneurship hub in the region. They have a three-fold mission to increase the potential of Cebu's creative industries: (1) to increase the capability of the industry through various linkages and public-private support - while promoting genuine creativity and innovation, (2) to be a venue for sharing of resources, information, ideas and best practices, and (3) to recognise, utilise and nurture past, present and future talents (Creative Cebu Council, 2009). Creative industry sectors in focus are advertising and design, music, architecture, literature, fashion design, film and photography, visual arts, theatre and performing arts, landscape architecture, multimedia, culinary arts, education, crafts, and animation. The programmes run under the Creative Cebu Council are, for example, Cebu Creative Industries

Summit in 2011 and 2013, Arts Management Workshop Series in the Creative Industries in 2014, Craft Connect in Cebu, and Creative Juice 01 in 2015. The Creative Cebu Council also joined the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network (SEACCN) in 2014. The organisation, however, stopped running in 2016, which will be discussed later in the interpretation and discussion section.

Create Cebu is effectively a team of art-enthusiasts who are engaged with urban affairs and urban reclamation through art and collaboration. Their vision is to strengthen the Cebuano creative identity by building a more liveable Cebu where Cebuano history, identity, and culture of creation and open expression thrive and are visibly alive in the city (Create Cebu, 2014). *Create Cebu* was established in 2014, and its goal is to build a bridge between art and the community. *Create Cebu* has many projects with its partners like the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines (ECCP), DTI Cebu, and various art galleries in Cebu. *Create Cebu's* projects are, for example, #Crisscrossings, Gabii Sa Kabilin (Night of Heritage), Cevolution Public Art Exhibition, several talks on art topics.

6.3.1 Cebu's Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation

Creative Cebu Council and *Create Cebu* are different regarding their goals. While Creative Cebu Council aims to establish a creative entrepreneur network and develop Cebu through the creative industries, *Create Cebu* is heading towards building a community through arts. Below is the timeline of the creative projects in Cebu and their objectives.

Year	Project and purpose(s)	Urban cultural policy	Creative cities policy
2009	The establishment of Creative Cebu Council <u>Actor:</u> Creative Cebu Council		
2010	Creative Cebu Council Press Launch <u>Actor:</u> Creative Cebu Council		
2011	The 1st Cebu Creative Industries Summit		

	<u>Actor</u> : Creative Cebu Council		
2013	The 2nd Cebu Creative Industries Summit <u>Actor</u> : Creative Cebu Council		
2014	The establishment of Create Cebu <u>Actor</u> : Create Cebu	<p>Public patronage Objectives: 1. Support artistic excellence 2. Enhance access to the arts 3. Promote national identity Approach: 1. Art grants 2. Cultural facilities 3. Heritage preservation</p> <p>Cultural planning Objectives: 1. Community development and participation 2. Support local cultural expression 3. Neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1. Community cultural engagement 2. Integrate arts in urban planning process 3. Support neighbourhood cultural projects</p> <p>Cultural industries Objectives: 1. Engage marginalised communities 2. Recognition of culture industries beyond “the arts” 3. Urban economic development Approach: 1. Cultural industries in redevelopment 2. Rehab industrial district 3. Study cultural production and agglomerations</p>	
	Arts Management Workshop Series in the Creative Industries:		Creative city strategy Objectives:

	Market and Audience Building for ASEAN Culture and the Arts <u>Actor:</u> Creative Cebu Council	1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. Inter-agency collaboration 3. Public-private partnerships Creative industries Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Promote R&D, intellectual property development Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption
2015	The 4th SEACCN Authenticities: Craft Connect in Cebu <u>Actors:</u> Creative Cebu Council, SEACCN	Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. Inter-agency collaboration 3. Public-private partnerships Creative industries Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Promote R&D, intellectual property development Creative class Objectives:

			1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption
	Crisscrossings <u>Actor:</u> Create Cebu <u>Purpose:</u> #Crisscrossings is a showcase of local crafters, and handmade artisans, set to pop-up alongside tenants of Crossroads Mall and within MATIC in Baniland, Cebu City. Crisscrossings features a walkable craft-culture display of specifically selected crafters and artisans. Exhibitors to the walkabout have been specifically chosen to publicise hard to find products which have yet to breach the mainstream.	Public patronage Objectives: 1. Support artistic excellence 2. Enhance access to the arts 3. Promote national identity Approach: 1. Art grants 2. Cultural facilities 3. Heritage preservation Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. Increase arts funding 2. Arts in growth coalition 3. Attract city centre investment Approach: 1. Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment 2. Economic impact studies Cultural planning Objectives: 1. Community development and participation 2. Support local cultural expression 3. Neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1. Community cultural engagement 2. Integrate arts in urban planning process 3. Support neighbourhood cultural projects	Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. Inter-agency collaboration 3. Public-private partnerships

		Cultural industries Objectives: 1. Engage marginalised communities 2. Recognition of culture industries beyond “the arts” 3. Urban economic development Approach: 1. Cultural industries in redevelopment 2. Rehab industrial district 3. Study cultural production and agglomerations	
	Gabii Sa Kabilin (Night of Heritage) <u>Actor:</u> Create Cebu <u>Purpose:</u> It is the collective #artbomb of some of the city's most dynamic young artists, painting the theme "lakaw-lakaw" (walkabout). It is a walk along the old Cebu routes, and rediscover the city, the canvas.	Cultural planning Objectives: 1. Community development and participation 2. Support local cultural expression 3. Neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1. Community cultural engagement 2. Integrate arts in urban planning process 3. Support neighbourhood cultural projects Cultural industries Objectives: 1. Engage marginalised communities 2. Recognition of culture industries beyond “the arts” 3. Urban economic development Approach: 1. Cultural industries in redevelopment 2. Rehab industrial district 3. Study cultural production and agglomerations	

	<p>Creative Juice 01: “Collaboration or Conflict” the hip informal gathering of creatives in Cebu <u>Actors:</u> Creative Cebu Council, DTI Cebu <u>Purpose:</u> The objective is to keep the conversation going, contribute to peer learning among creatives, and provide a venue for small groups of people getting together monthly to help each other out, brainstorm solutions and to cheer each other on in their creative pursuits.</p>		<p>Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption</p>
2016	<p>Brain: Share, a pop-up talk with Vgrafiks</p>		
	<p>Streetware Southeast Asia <u>Actor:</u> Creative Cebu Council <u>Purpose:</u> It is a 10-day workshop for students and professionals, conducted by the Architectural Association London. Streetware focuses on the urban regeneration of the host city using methodologies and concepts by AA.</p>		<p>Creative class Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities 2. Urban branding and consumption</p>
2017	<p>ASEAN Creative Cities Forum <u>Actors:</u> The DTI, the British Council Philippines</p>	<p>Public patronage Objectives: 1. Support artistic excellence 2. Enhance access to the arts 3. Promote national identity Approach: 1. Art grants 2. Cultural facilities 3. Heritage preservation</p> <p>Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives: 1. Increase arts funding 2. Arts in growth coalition 3. Attract city centre investment Approach: 1. Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment 2. Economic impact studies</p>	<p>Creative city strategy Objectives: 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation Approach: 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. Inter-agency collaboration 3. Public-private partnerships</p>
	<p>Cevolution Public Art Exhibit <u>Actors:</u> Create Cebu, Crossroads Cebu, Qube Gallery</p>	<p>Cultural planning Objectives:</p>	

	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Eight murals were created on the exterior walls of Crossroads Cebu to explore the evolution of Cebu due to the rapid pace of growth and development in the city. Cevolution aims to highlight the diversity of imagination, skill, and talent of local artists, as well as increases, access to and awareness of Cebuano art. Beyond providing an outlet for creativity and public expression, by adding 100 square metres of public art to Cebu City, the project hopes to promote Cebu's identity as a city destination for culture and the arts.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community development and participation 2. Support local cultural expression 3. Neighbourhood economic development <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community cultural engagement 2. Integrate arts in urban planning process 3. Support neighbourhood cultural projects <p>Cultural industries Objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Engage marginalised communities 2. Recognition of culture industries beyond "the arts" 3. Urban economic development <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultural industries in redevelopment 2. Rehab industrial district 3. Study cultural production and agglomerations 	
2018	<p>CCX 2018 Crisscrossings: Creative Convergence 2018 <u>Actors:</u> Create Cebu, European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines Cebu, Crossroads Cebu, ASPACE Cebu <u>Purpose:</u> It includes creative talks and workshops, art installation, an artist showcase gig, and a creators' market for three whole days to celebrate and bring together the creative communities of Cebu.</p>	<p>Cultural planning Objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community development and participation 2. Support local cultural expression 3. Neighbourhood economic development <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community cultural engagement 2. Integrate arts in urban planning process 3. Support neighbourhood cultural projects <p>Economic impact of cultural amenities Objectives:</p>	<p>Creative city strategy Objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attract high skilled labour and investment 2. Economic growth 3. Public participation <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2. Inter-agency collaboration 3. Public-private partnerships

		1. Increase arts funding 2. Arts in growth coalition 3. Attract city centre investment Approach: 1. Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment 2. Economic impact studies	
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Table 6.1: *The analysis of Cebu's projects using policy modes*

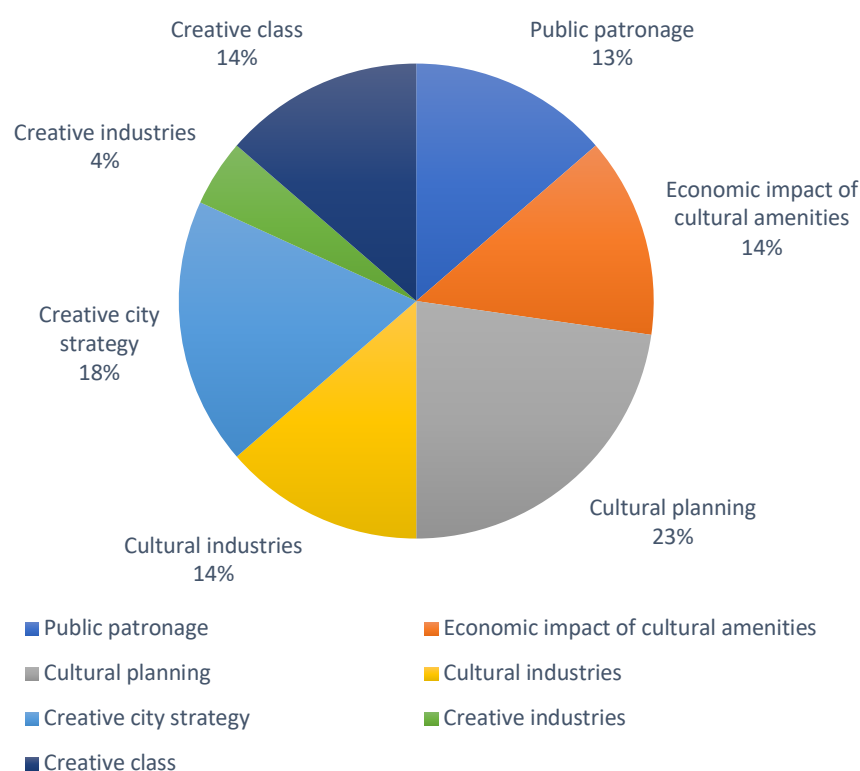


Figure 6.4: *Cebu's creative activities divided by policy modes*

The pie chart shows the percentage of policy mode in Cebu, according to Grodach's (2017) classification of urban cultural policy mode and the creative cities policy mode. From the pie chart, it can be seen that the policy modes for urban cultural policy and creative cities policy are varied, although the cultural planning policy mode is greater than other policy modes at 23 per cent. It is still not significant enough to conclude

that cultural policies in Cebu are gearing towards the cultural planning policy mode. The Creative City strategy policy mode follows at 18 per cent. Policies aiming at the economic impact of cultural amenities, cultural industries, and creative class are at the same level at 14 per cent. Table Two shows that creative projects from *Creative Cebu* Council mainly aim for the creative cities policy mode, while creative projects from *Create Cebu* aim more at broader groups of people. Therefore, most of the creative activities belong to the urban cultural policy mode.

These projects offered by various actors in Cebu have played a part in creating the creative atmosphere in the city. #Crisscrossings, Gabii Sa Kablilin (Night of Heritage), and Cevolution Public Art Exhibit are good examples of projects that interconnect the art community and people of the city. Projects done by the Creative Cebu Council seem to be geared towards a more niche group, the creative people. For example, projects like Creative Juice 01 and Street ware Southeast Asia aimed at creative professionals and people who are interested in creative processes.

The research question has been answered in this section. The first research question “How has the Creative City construct been adopted by ASEAN cities, and adapted to Asian urban realities?” has been answered by the analysis of the city’s background. It is found that in the Philippines, changes are mostly in a top-down form. Government agencies initiate projects. As a newly industrialised country that just went through an economic transition from an agricultural-based economy to more services and manufacturing-based economy, the Philippine government sees the creative economy as trade opportunities for the country under the leadership of the DTI. The government supports the creative economy and creative industries by providing the Creative Industries Roadmap, the ICT Roadmap, the Republic Act 10557 or the Philippine Design Competitiveness Act, the Design Centre, and being the lead in the ASEAN Creative Cities

Forum and Exhibition, which was held in Manila. Engagement from international partners, like the British Council, also helps in the development of Philippine creative industries. In 2008, the British Council Philippines recognised Cebu as a creative capital of the Philippines, and that must have triggered the people of Cebu. In 2009, representatives of the creative people in nine professions gathered and established the Creative Cebu Council. The Creative Cebu Council ran from 2009 to 2016, but creative activities in Cebu City are still continued by *Create Cebu*, which was established in 2014. The only difference is that Creative Cebu Council aimed towards the development of the creative industries, while *Create Cebu* is aiming at bridging the art of the city and people. Like Peck's (2004, 2005) criticism on 'fast urban policy', the Creative City, urban cultural policies developed in the context of a de-industrialising Europe has turned into a 'recipe' that is ready for other cities with different social and economic background to pick up (O'Connor, 2009; UNESCO, 2013). The British Council comes in as an international player with policies and strategies developed in the era of de-industrialising Britain. One of the programmes run by the British Council Philippines, creative enterprise training programme, states that it hopes that other cities would be able to adopt the same creative enterprise training' pattern', which shows the characteristic of 'cookies cutter' policy (Oakley, 2004) and 'Xerox' approach (Pratt, 2009b), where actual policy 'transfer' is supplanted by a 'cut and paste' replication of assumed Western models of success.

6.4 Cebu and Neoliberalism

In the critical framework of Brenner and Theodore's (2002) "Actually Existing Neoliberalism" we must begin with the work of the authorities: the 'recalibration of intergovernmental relations' mechanism that happens in Cebu is the work of the Department of Trade and Industry Cebu (DTI). The DTI used to support local SME's by subsidising creative services; however, it now works towards the linkages development among various sectors to answer their creative needs.

The DTI's role has changed from supporting creative services financially to support them by building a network and linkages. By doing so, the government is stepping out from interfering with the work of the creative industries and let the market plays its role by encouraging the connection between these industries to allow the flow within the industries.

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Recalibration of intergovernmental relations</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities; creation of new incentive structures to reward local entrepreneurialism and to catalyze "endogenous growth"
<i>Reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of bureaucratized, hierarchical forms of local public administration • Devolution of erstwhile state tasks to voluntary community networks • Assault on traditional relays of local democratic accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Rolling forward" of new networked forms of local governance based upon public-private partnerships, "quangos," and the "new public management" • Establishment of new institutional relays through which elite business interests can directly influence major local development decisions

<i>Interlocal policy transfer</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erosion of contextually sensitive approaches to local policymaking • Marginalization of “home-grown” solutions to localized market failures and governance failures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diffusion of generic, prototypical approaches to “modernizing” reform among policymakers in search of quick fixes for local social problems (eg welfare-to-work programs, place-marketing strategies, zero-tolerance crime policies, etc) • Imposition of decontextualized “best practice” models upon local policy environments
<i>Re-representing the city</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas

Table 6.2: *Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.369-372)

The next mechanism of neoliberal localisation used is ‘reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state’. The establishment of Creative Cebu Council in 2009 and *Create Cebu* in 2014 shows the new networked form. Though they are not local governance-based, most of their activities are joint programmes with local government agencies like the DTI Cebu and the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines (ECCP). The establishment of these organisations, especially the Creative Cebu Council, raises a concern that they would mainly support elite business interests that can directly influence major local development decisions without having the real voice of the locals. Projects run by Creative Cebu Council and *Create Cebu* are geared towards niche audiences in the creative industries and arts groups.

The Creative City discourse has been criticised by many scholars (i.e. Peck, 2004; Pratt, 2009a; Evans, 2003; and Mould, 2015) as a ‘one-size-fits-all’ kind of policy (that is, an assumption that ‘economy’ is a

causal and objective mechanism quite distinct from society, and whose models of optimum production and performance can be implemented in any socio-cultural context, such as any modern industrialised city), and this results in the 'interlocal policy transfer' mechanism in Brenner and Theodore's table of neoliberal localisation mechanisms. Many urban authorities in the Philippines adopt this idea in hoping that it would help fix economic and social problems. The adoption of the Creative City idea has normally been done without a thorough concern towards its urban environment and assets. Therefore, 'home-grown' solutions are marginalised or ignored.

Though the images of Cebu with urban problems and negative images from the past are not the main concern of creative agencies in Cebu, the mobilisation of entrepreneurial discourse is strong and, thus, will fit in the 're-representing the city' mechanism. The city is rebranded as a Creative City where all creative activities take place. Creative Cebu Council sees the opportunity of the Cebu creative industries in achieving global competitiveness, while *Create Cebu* focuses on urban revitalisation and reclamation through art and collaboration. According to this mechanism, Cebu is undoubtedly undergoing a process of neoliberalisation. When the term Creative City first introduced, the focus was on using culture and creativity to solve urban problems that were happening in Europe in the transformation period in the late 1980s. In Cebu, as the British Council introduced the Creative City notion as a policy option, but this for the notion to be deployed with a certain force — by those with power. The urban reality of Cebu is characterised by a dominant group of select agents; there is little community momentum or stimulus. Development is indeed in evidence, though Cebu as Creative City is oriented towards the patronage of specialist groups of artists, creative entrepreneurs and investors. According to Landry (2008), a diversity of people is a significant factor in the making of a Creative City, given the expanse of urban economy and how the social community is embedded in the economy of cities. For Landry, therefore, public engagement,

community incentivisation and enfranchisement is critical for the development of the way people think or the collective mindset — towards the activation of creativity (at levels and in places it has been alien, from ordinary community life to local government bureaucracy). In Cebu, the Creative City paradigm is evidently changing the dominant economic paradigm among policymakers and institutions; but these people are highly select and privileged. Zukin (1995) argues that ‘powerful’ people are those that stamp the image of the city, and in the Cebu case, it is the DTI Cebu and the Creative Cebu Council.

Despite the fact that aims of government and creative entities agencies in Cebu seem increasingly oriented to what we identify as neoliberal (individualisation; active marginalisation of the poor, and so on), many of their projects offer an engagement of people in the creative industries and the community as shown in the previous section on Cebu’s creative projects. The paradox cannot go unnoticed. Neoliberalism does not necessarily operate at a community level or through a pervasive ideology. With the transition of creative activities from Creative Cebu Council to *Create Cebu*, direction and focus of the city have changed from just people in the creative circle to a broader range of audience. The next section will be the interpretation and discussion from the analysis of the research and creative projects in Cebu.

From the conceptual framework that is obtained for this research, Cebu can be interpreted as followed. The first point of discussion is the failing of the Creative Cebu Council. According to Landry (2008), ‘people’ are the heart of a Creative City, and this is not a socialist sentiment. The ‘people’ in Landry’s formulation are representatives of all dimensions of an urban economy, much of which select specialist agencies have limited direct access. In the case of Cebu, Creative Cebu Council were not pervasive or continued long enough to introduce substantive influences, ideas or changes in the city. Moreover, their projects focus mainly on creative people rather than

attempted to interrogate the real diversity of the city and identify each dimension and level of the urban economy. For Florida (2002), cities will find it difficult to develop if (a) its strategy priorities are misguided or wrong, and (b) a city is trapped by its past (by existing barriers to growth or change). Cebu is a diverse city, where there is a considerable creative activity. It is now famous for its art community and creative industries (like the furniture design industry). In terms of governance and public bureaucracy, a strong case can be made out for Cebu being trapped in the past — but not with culture and creative industries. The central critical issue with Creative City development is strategic — the Creative Cebu Council does not have a strategic understanding of the social diversity internal to the urban economy, and this is reflected in its lack of penetration and engagement on the level of community. So, the Creative City notion becomes generic, allowing for the social re-structuring of globalisation and global capitalism. If we consider the programme of the Creative Cebu Council, it is evident that its social re-structuring involves the patronage of certain specialist agencies and professionals (not all, but a select number) and an emphasis on production and not an impact in the urban economy of the city itself. Moreover, without the patronage of the central government, even the Creative Cebu Council itself did not develop. Little autonomy is created in the city.

Furthermore, arguably, Cebu is an example of 'fast policy'. Aside from the co-opted rhetoric and brand communications, which replicated Western models of publicity, the implementation of the Creative City idea is an example of 'boosterism' or policy implementation for rapid economic effect. In European cities, as exemplified by Landry's original concept (re: his case of Huddersfield, England). For Huddersfield, Creative City programming was devised bespoke, based on research and consultation with the people and agencies already involved in the town. For Landry (2008), this is how cities can create an atmosphere and new conditions of thought — for people to think differently, consider how creativity can transform how they

approach the city, and locate new opportunities. For Cebu, however, the programme was devised with reference to other cities and the Western Creative City framework of established aims. This is similar to Chiang Mai, where Woralun (2017), the director of Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, stated that the word 'creativity' was 'forced' on the city; the creative process does not happen 'naturally' or simply as an unproblematic positive force. Mould (2015) also argues that the Creative City paradigm is almost like the antithesis of creativity: the opposite of a creative process. According to Grodach and Silver (2013), cities by-pass the research and deliberation required of actual policymaking and adopt policy formulae for an urban policy as economic 'tools' but also 'tool' they believe can address severe issues in the city, like social exclusion, unemployment, attracting investors, and city branding. Fast economic policy models can, therefore, detrimentally influence social policy.

The Creative City was firstly adopted in Cebu with encouragement from the British Council Philippines when it recognised Cebu as a Capital of Creativity in 2008. As a result, the Creative Cebu Council was established in 2009. As Pratt (2009) argues, the strong meanings embedded in the word 'creative' immediately offers a positive image to cities, which becomes, in turn, a 'catch-all phrase' (Landry, 2008), and that leads to a general evasive approach to cultural, social and even economic policy itself. Additionally, an observation from Cebu indicates that Creative City policy in Europe (Landry's examples like Huddersfield or Glasgow) is very different from Southeast Asia, in part, as Southeast Asian cities are already culturally rich and to some degree socially cohesive: the 'work' the Creative City needs to accomplish, therefore, is very different.

Conclusion

To conclude, Evans (2003) points out that the effect of the 'hard branding' of a city using culture (or 'the Bilbao Effect') exacerbates the lack of interconnection between the city's preferred 'flagship' projects

and the city as a residential, social site of people. This observation relates to Cebu, even without the 'hard' urban infrastructure since there remains a lack of interconnection with the actual urban planning of the whole city. The key findings of this chapter indicate a general lack of connection — where Cebu adopted the Creative City discourse and has accomplished many projects, events and artistic production, but indicated by the ending of the Creative Cebu Council and the slowing down of the Creative City process, a disconnect between culture and urbanism, creativity and the urban economy remain. As a developing city, Cebu is still experiencing the impacts of globalisation, and the adoption of 'fast urban policy' (such as hard branding) is obviously tempting and a way of responding to globalisation. But this response is both politically and socially disconnected from the historic social and cultural realities that make Cebu a unique place, and a place of work and craft. Thus, this chapter argues that the mechanism of neoliberal localisation that has affected Cebu the most is 'interlocal policy transfer' mechanism.

Chapter 7 Case Study 3: George Town (Malaysia)

Think City and the George Town Festival are the two creative agencies that are members of the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network, and they feature as examples of the outstanding cultural activity in the Malay city of George Town, which, nevertheless, we will have cause to subject to critical scrutiny. The central research questions are: How has George Town adopted and adapted the Creative City policy notion, and how can we understand its relation to the evident urban realities of the city (RQ2), specifically in relation Western neoliberalism (RQ3).

Malaysia's historical, socio-economic context will be represented, followed by an account of the development of the creative economy and creative industries. A profile of the city of George Town will be followed by a SWOT analysis of Penang's potentials as a Creative City, relating to research from Malaysian scholars. A critical discussion on the emerging Creative City policy matrix, actors and agencies, will draw on secondary data, supporting the claims that inequality and class division belies the city's claims that a new 'creative class' is driving economic growth. It identifies a distance between rhetoric and reality in that George Town's (Penang) identified urban dilemmas are not being addressed by its central urban policies and developmental orientation.

George Town is a cultural city that is absorbing global trends in urban and cultural policy. It is the first city in Malaysia that was piloted by *Think City*, a government organisation for urban regeneration. The *Think City* framework, which bears some resemblance to UNHabitat projects, approximates a Creative City notion, as shall be explained. The Malaysian federal government is also paying extra attention to George Town since it received World Heritage status in July 2008. The methodologies for this chapter are document analysis

and critical policy review. Governmental documents are selected to provide a background for the case study of George Town. The 'destructive and creative moments of neoliberal localisation' table of Brenner and Theodore (2002) is used as a part of the critical policy review to see the potential of neoliberalism in George Town.

7.1 Malaysia's Country Background and the Emergence of the Creative Economy as Policy Idea

How has the Creative City construct been adopted by George Town and been adapted to its urban realities?' The available literature and research sources on Malaysia and George Town pertinent to the question of the Creative City policy notion can be categorised as the following: official documents/reports, journal articles, and news articles.

Malaysia consists of two regions that are separated by 640 miles of the South China Sea. It is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious federation of 13 states and three federal territories (BBC News, 2018); Muslim ethnic Malay is the majority of the country. Malay are politically dominant and benefit from positive discrimination in business, education, and civil service. At the same time, a large ethnic Chinese minority are economically significant. Although racial and religious divides persist, the national community of citizens is generally considered to coexist in relative harmony (BBC News, 2018). The capital of Malaysia is Kuala Lumpur, with an enormous regional population of 32 million (United Nations, 2018). The official language is Malay, and other major languages used in Malaysia are English, Chinese dialects, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam. Apart from Islam and Buddhism from the majority of Muslim and a large population of Chinese, Taoism, Hinduism, Christianity, and Sikhism are major religions in the country. Leaders of the country consist of the head of state and prime minister, with the post of head of state, is rotated every five years among the sultans of the nine Malay kingdoms, while the prime minister is elected.

The conversion of Malays to Islam emerged in the 14th century. In 1826, British settlements of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore combined to form the Colony of Straits Settlements, but later in 1895 four Malay states combined to form the distinct Federated Malay States. In 1963, the British colonies of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore joined the Federation of Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia. Singapore withdrew from Malaysia in 1965. In 1969, Malays staged anti-Chinese riots in the context of increasing frustration over the economic success of the ethnic Chinese, and from 1971, the government introduced minimum quotas for Malays in business, education and the civil service. In the late 1990s, local communist insurgents signed a peace accord with the government, and in 1997, like many other countries in East Asia, Malaysia suffered the Asian financial crisis. A decline in exports eventually resulted in a slowdown of economic growth, with unemployment and declining value of the ringgit (in April 1997, the ringgit was equivalent to 2.42 of the US dollar; later, the value of the ringgit depreciated by almost 50 per cent at RM 4.88 to the US dollar in January 1998: Ariff and Yanti, 1999). Data from the Malaysian Industrial Authority (MIDA) shows that in the foreign direct investment (FDI) levels there was also a declining trend of applications received in the manufacturing sector and applications for investment incentives from the hotel, tourism, and agriculture sectors over the period of January until December 1998.

The significance of rapid economic decline is, of course, the impacts on society less easily quantified: inflation, unemployment, poverty, and income distribution, all make for a social culture of vulnerability and insecurity (Zakaria et al., 2010). In 1981, Mahathir Mohamad became prime minister of Malaysia, only stepping down after 22 years in office (in 2003), yet again recently elected prime minister (2018) at the age of 92. In Malaysia, the contrast between the longevity and slow pace of change in the establishment, and the rapid deterioration in social conditions is instructive.

In Malaysia, the development of creative industries visibly prioritises multimedia, innovation, often in terms of the relation between 'knowledge economy' and 'technology' as generic policy reference points, and always initiated by central government (Isa et al., 2011). The government has invested significantly in enhanced growth in these areas and with projects such as 'Multimedia Super Corridor' (MSC), 'Cyberjaya' city and 'Technology Park Malaysia', launched for the growth of creative sectors in the country. This development is in line with the vision set by the fourth Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad, to make Malaysia a fully 'developed' country by the year 2020.

MSC development in 1995 is identified as one of the core elements to reach that goal. The MSC project was adapted as a 'Silicon Valley' model but actually began before Malaysian universities started to offer professional training for human resources, central to the development of this project. This had resulted in mismatched between work demand and supply in Malaysia in this area and affected the growth of MSC project (Vicziány and Puteh, 2004).

Scholars claim that the problem of the development of the creative industries in Malaysia is unclear definitions and policy frameworks on the creative economy and creative industries as compared to their counterparts in the arts, culture, and tourism (Khalifah and Tahir, 1997, p.177-178). As a result, the culture and tourism sectors in Malaysia are more advanced. Another challenge is the weak enforcement and implementation of policies, as well as overlapping issues between the ministries involved in cultural tourism and creativity sectors (Pandiyan, 2009). However, there have been many positive transformations taking place (since the early 2000s) to support the development of creative sectors. For the past decade, a clearer understanding of the knowledge economy has emerged in the Malaysian policymaking community. The numbers of public and private academic institutions offering creative industries programmes for school leavers have been

growing. There are at least more than ten universities in Malaysia identified to have Faculty of Creative Industries, centres or department with a similar name. One of the important places for creative industries development is the State of Penang. George Town, its capital city, is one of the case studies of this research.

7.2 George Town's Urban Economy

When discussing Penang, scholars carefully differentiate between 'Penang State', 'Penang Island' and 'Seberang Peria' on mainland Malaysia. Penang, as a state itself, comprises the island of Penang (approximately 285 sq. km) and a long strip of land (approximately 760 sq. km) called Seberang Perai on the mainland. On Penang Island, the capital and administrative centre is George Town, which is located at the north-east corner of the island. When referring to Penang (as the state) and George Town (as the capital) somehow the two entities have been rhetorically and colloquially perceived as the same. Thus, the task of profiling George Town as a city is synonymous with and analogous to Penang Island itself: given that the state is an island with 'island' characteristics and dynamics, much of the existing literature on Penang have intermeshed the identification of the city capital of George Town and the state Penang itself, thus, justifying their interchangeable use (Khoo et al., 2015, 2017).



Figure 7.1: Map of Penang (MalaysiaMap.org, 2018)

Penang State is one of the more developed states in Malaysia located on the north-western coast of Peninsular Malaysia. The South Channel measuring approximately three kilometres, separates the island of Penang from mainland Malaysia. The ferry service, as well as the First and Second Penang Bridges, connect the island to the mainland. Penang, an important seaport of Malaysia, was once called the 'Pearl of the Orient'. In the nineteenth century, it began to witness an influx of migrants from countries such as China, India, Siam, Burma, Sumatra, Armenia and other neighbouring countries within the region, as the strategic location of the Penang port served as an ideal stop-over for British ships using the Strait of Malacca on the China trade route (Lim, 2015, p.16). The inflow of these migrants and urban

settlers undoubtedly marked the beginning of a transformation for the city of George Town. The year 1969 marked a turning point in Penang's development when the Federal Government commissioned an American consultancy, Messrs. R. Robert Nathan and Associates, to carry out a study and prepare a Penang Master Plan study to map out the future economic development for the State (Goh and Ooi, 2010). Subsequently, the period from the 1970s onwards ushered in a new economic era for Penang with the emerging importance of the State's manufacturing and industrial sector. It was an attractive destination for major multinational corporations (MNCs) since the 1970s. Manufacturing assembly work for MNCs and tourism allowed Penang's economy to surpass the national average of 7 per cent for the period 1970-2005 (Kraras et al., 2010). However, present-day Penang is home to many run-down buildings, just like many cities after the period of industrialisation. In those days, many skilled workers lived in or around George Town. Nowadays, shortages of skilled labour, brain drain, and limited opportunities for graduates are problems that occur in Penang. These tend to happen as MNCs rotate staff to other countries as part of their global talent management programmes (Kraras et al., 2010). In the past, the Bayan Lepas industrial park, the first free trade zone (FTZ) in Malaysia, became a significant pillar of Penang's economy after the island lost its 'free port' status in 1969. As stated above, although Penang's economic growth has been concreted and measurable, both traditional manufacturing and tourism are facing competitive threats as neighbouring countries now offer lower wages and the lower cost of doing business. The number of foreign tourists has declined from a peak of 2.3 million people in 2000 to around 1.8 million in 2008 (Kraras et al., 2010, p.4). To illustrate, Penang's principal economic model of export-led manufacturing based on cheap labour is under threat from lower-wage competitors in China and Vietnam. Many MNCs are relocating their production base elsewhere, which causes a problem of unemployment.

In July 2008, George Town and Melaka were listed as the UNESCO World Heritage Sites for their 'living' culture of architecture and multiculturalism. Thus, many projects on the restoration of the two cities were actively developed, and the development of the city as a 'liveable' place has become a policy priority for urban planners in George Town. To restore Penang's liveability, the State Government are focusing on four stated policy aims:

- (1) Developing social as well as cultural 'diversity', by creating opportunities for people from different income levels and ethnicity;
- (2) Developing creativity and innovation in ways that benefit the local economy and Malaysia's role in the world;
- (3) Develop a transactional hub for products and services – a spatially-connected economy;
- (4) Encourage ideas, knowledge and creativity – an internet- and people-connected economy (Kraras et al., 2010).

With these aims, the State Government is hoping to position Penang as a networked economy: globally, regionally and domestically (ibid). According to a collaborative research project between Khasanah National Berhad and the World Bank, and as one of the inputs to the 10th Malaysia plan, the three identified sources of economic growth in Penang are its cities, its people and its economy (Kraras et al., 2010), which may seem obvious and generic but attempts to maintain an important developmental interconnection between the historic city and a technological future.

From a trading port in the 1950s, Penang has evolved into one of the largest global electronics manufacturing hubs in Asia. Penang's exports are so significant, it was a driving factor out of the 1997-98 financial crisis, even after the observed collapse of the global electronics sector in 2001. Internationally, Penang has been one of the world's most successful stories of rapid industrialisation: the share of agriculture in the state GDP dropped from 12 per cent in 1970 to

around 2 per cent in 2008 while manufacturing rose from 23 per cent to 54 per cent in the same period. The share of services to Penang's GDP has remained close to the national average (Kraras et al., 2010). A brief history of rapid industrialisation in Penang started when the first wave of export-oriented electronics firms emerged in 1971-1974 (Rasiah, 1988). From 1971, export-oriented industrialisation became the prime driver of manufacturing growth of Penang as can be illustrated in Figure 7.2.

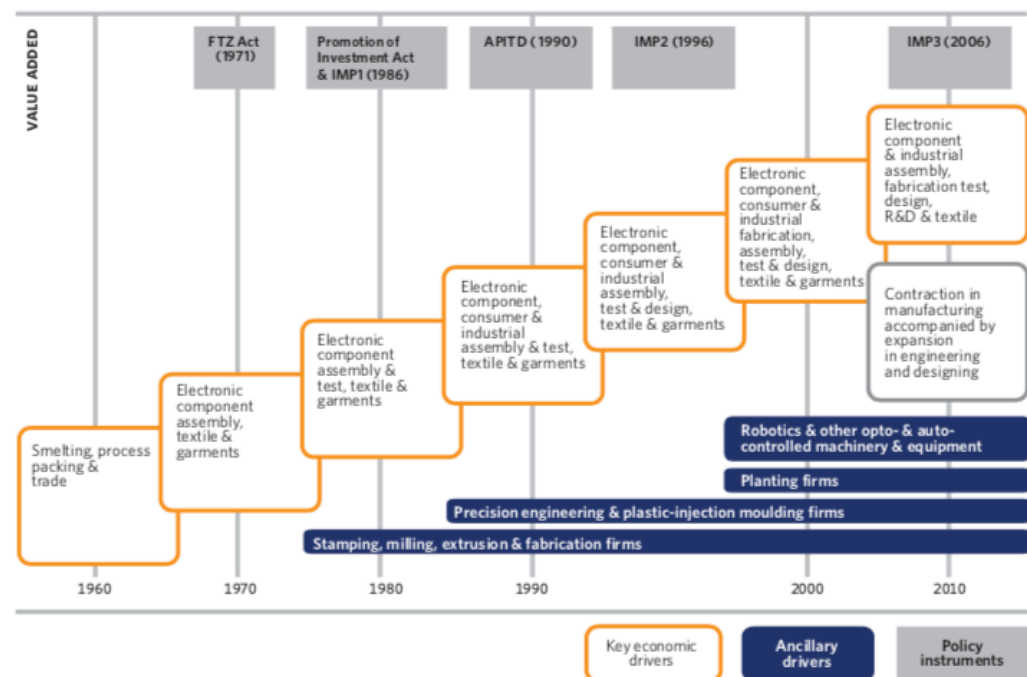


Figure 7.2: *Industrialisation in Penang, 1960-2010* (Rasiah et al., 2009)

Manufacturing, however, dropped after a peak in 2008, for domestic labour reasons (Kraras et al., 2010), and as a result, many firms relocated (ibid). Some studies suggest serious structural constraints, which are unfavourable business and investment climate, high entry costs, high operating costs, and high exit costs (World Bank, 2005), as the overall cost of doing business in Penang are higher than in Malaysia. Figure 7.4 shows that the business disadvantages in Penang are more severe for firms in Penang than for firms elsewhere in Malaysia.

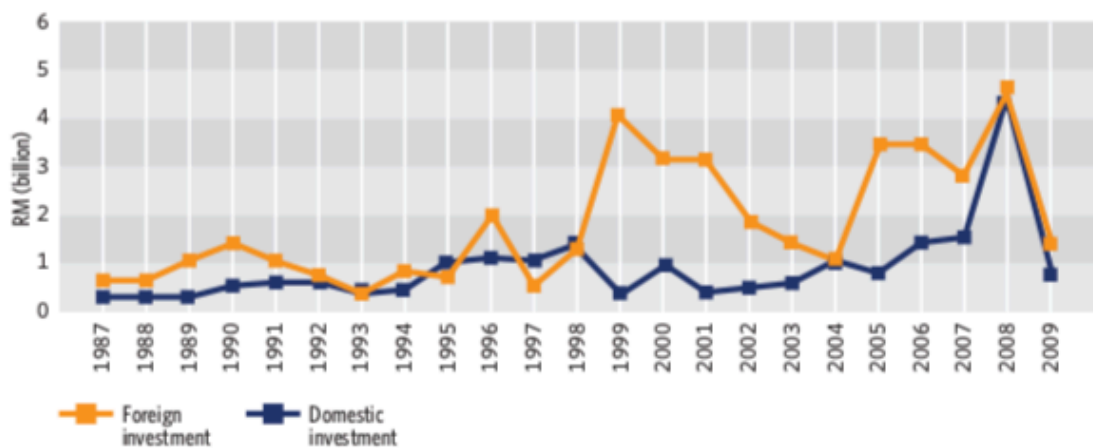


Figure 7.3: *Approved manufacturing projects in Penang* (Kraras et al., 2010)

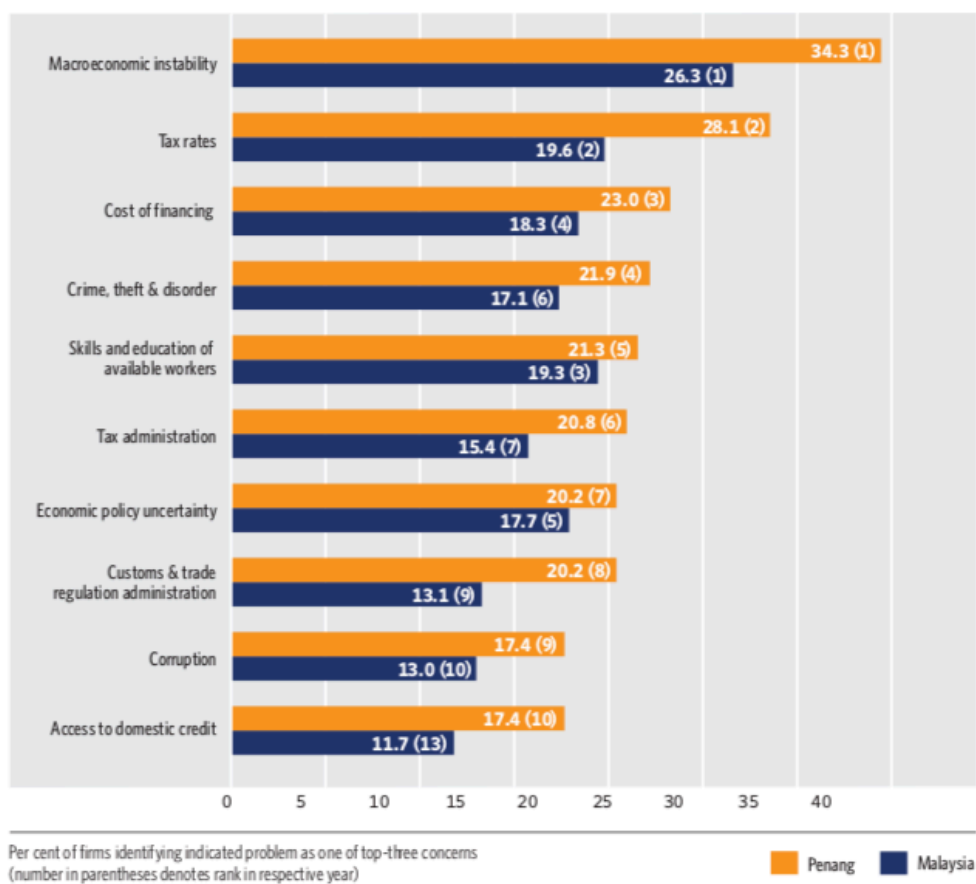


Figure 7.4: *Government regulations affect Penang firms more* (Zeufack and Gopalan, 2009)

Penang, the first free trade port in East Asia, maintains a central location and access to major markets in Myanmar, southern Thailand, Sumatra and northern Malaya. According to *The Cities, People & the Economy: Study on Positioning Penang* (Kraras et al., 2010), Penang functions as a critical secondary city in Malaysian economic policy. Internationally, secondary cities have grown at the same rate as primary cities and sometimes even faster (ibid), yet, as frequently noted by economists, these cities have different sources of growth. Their dynamism emerges from specialised production in particular areas, often mature industries (whereas primary prioritise new products and innovations generated by cross-sectoral interactions (ibid)). Therefore, understanding the unique nature of a secondary city is critical to a successful urban economic policy. In the framework of the World Bank's World Development Report 2009, which identifies strategies for secondary cities across the world, the critical challenges for Penang are to build density and reduce the distance to markets (World Bank, 2009). With this, Penang's economic growth is expected to be extended significantly.

As noted, Penang and its capital, George Town, are used interchangeably. The city offers a lifestyle that is relaxed, cosmopolitan and balanced, which appeal to leading skilled workers and creative people around the world (Kraras et al., 2010). The 'Malaysia My Second Home' (MM2H) programme is designed to make it easier for skilled people from around the world to relocate to Penang and help build the connections, networks and knowledge that a vibrant city needs to flourish. The MM2H programme offers a long-stay visa for up to ten years. Even though skilled workers are encouraged to live and work in Penang, the state government could not fully use this point for the development of the city since it suffers from the decision making over city improvements from federal authorities in Kuala Lumpur rather than by locally elected officials (Kraras et al., 2010). This results in the poor management of human capital when the city's best graduates look for job opportunities elsewhere (ibid).

In July 2008, when George Town and Melaka were awarded UNESCO World Heritage status, it was an opportunity to restore the city. In the case of George Town, cultural diversity was a key policy aim that secured the award (Kraras et al., 2010). George Town is considered historically significant because of its original urban morphology – colonial origins and multitextured, two-story shophouse buildings with terracotta roofs – architectural variety and a multi-ethnic, multicultural social community. A revitalised George Town could lead to a new phase in Penang's economic development. A new George Town Transformation Programme (GTTP) is a concept study for the transformation of George Town from a moderately-functioning urban centre into a model 21st century 'secondary' city. The GTTP recognises that inner-city George Town is hollowing out, and there is an overall decline in urban amenities and connectivity. It, therefore, intends to provide a holistic approach to the physical, social and economic elements of maintaining George Town as a heritage site. The GTTP is a catalytic programme designed to demonstrate George Town's capabilities to serve as a regional hub, a global example of sustainable development, and a regional leader in the creative industries. It is organised around four pillars: support for nascent R&D and educational institutions, greater public access to the waterfront, improved public transport, and promotion of culture, diversity, and heritage (Khor et al., 2017).

According to *Cities, People & the Economy: The Study on Positioning Penang* (Kraras et al., 2010), one of Penang's central urban policy indicators is its people. However, this is not defined in detail and in the last few decades, it was evident that Penang had a challenge in retaining young, educated and professional people. One central purpose of Penang's new strategy is to improve the general livelihood of the population: it has reduced poverty with less than 0.4 per cent of the population below the poverty line as of 2016 compared to the 29 per cent poverty rate in 1980 (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2017), but a concurrent economic growth has generated growing

population inequality. It can be seen in Figure 7.5, that those in urban areas saw more rapid wage gains than those in rural areas, which barely grew in real terms. The wage gap, for example, between a skilled technician and a plant operator is substantial – the technician earns almost twice as much, and professionals earn even more. The education system, moreover, is producing workers with more education, but not producing workers who can move into different types of occupations (Kraras et al., 2010).

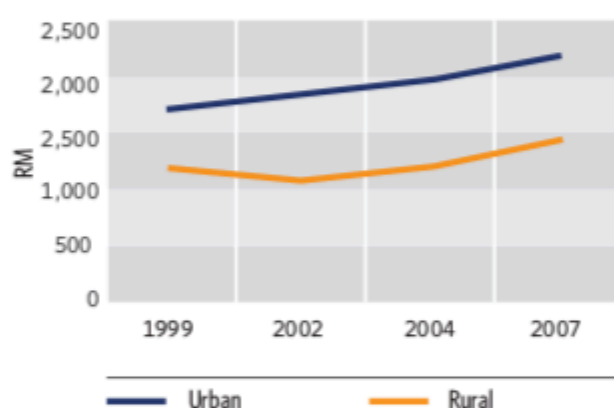


Figure 7.5: *Mean monthly wages in Penang's urban and rural areas* (Kraras et al., 2010)

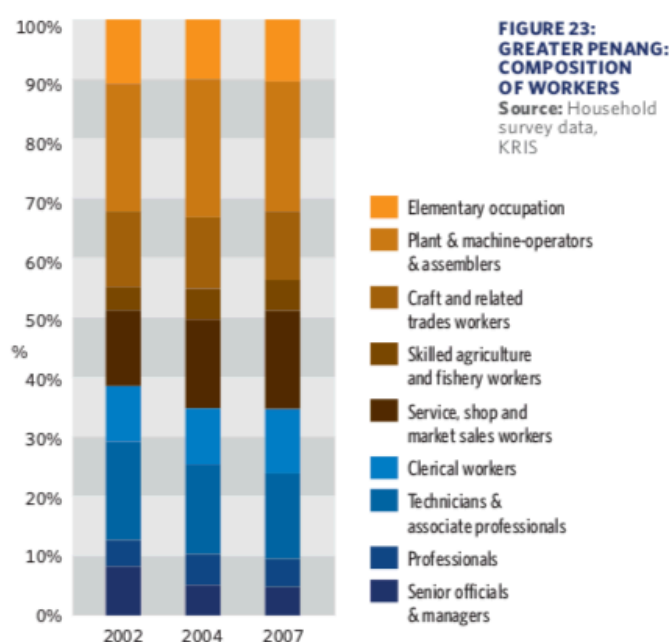


Figure 7.6: *Greater Penang: composition of workers* (Kraras et al., 2010)

A central challenge for Penang is in part a socio-economic one, to attract and retain creative and technically-advanced people. The factors involved in this are surprisingly complex: policymakers have found that talent, cohort, professional recruitment or retention strategies often involve three programmes:

- (1) Developing a city into a location of choice, where people want to live, work, raise a family and retire;
- (2) Developing educational institutions, with PD or 'life-long' learning frameworks that can ensure that professionals have continued opportunities for upgrading their skills and interacting with other leaders in their field; and
- (3) Leveraging the diaspora of those who have left, but who still retain ties of family and culture (Kraras et al., 2010, p.70).

A survey of Penangites resident abroad and those choosing to stay suggests that the attractions of Penang are its simplicity, stress-free lifestyle, low cost of living, and relaxed attitudes (Kraras et al., 2010). There are also open spaces for sports and recreations, which lead to the creation of networks of friends and neighbours. The openness to innovation and change are also rated highly (ibid). The drawbacks are, however, traffic volumes, road congestion, cleanliness of public spaces, environmental quality, professional networks, and growing crime rates (ibid). Moreover, one thing that is worth mentioning is the principal reason for leaving Penang among young university graduates. The lack of career opportunities and good jobs is inevitable in a secondary city where specialised skills are in demand (Kraras et al., 2010).

The SWOT analysis of George Town as a creative city has been carried out by Malaysian scholars, namely Chang, Khoo and Badarulzaman (2015). The six pillars of creativity by Kern and Runge (2009) were used as an indicator to measure George Town's creative output. The six pillars consist of openness & diversity, institutional environment, technology, human capital, social/cultural environment,

and creative output (Kern and Runge, 2009). The strengths of Penang regarding openness and diversity are George Town as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site, and Penang was also voted as the 8th Most Liveable & Workable City in Asia by ECA International in 2011 and 2012. For the institutional environment, there are the National Creative Industry Policy (2011) and Creative Animation Triggers (CAT). Moreover, Penang Cybercity (PCC) is a high-tech growth platform for industries. There is also the establishment of ICT infrastructures to support local development and transport connectivity. In terms of human capital, Penang has the Penang Skills Development Centre (PSDC), which strategies human resources development initiatives. There are also art-based educational institutions, namely School of Arts at Universiti Sains Malaysia, Equator Academy of Art, the One Academy Penang, and Penangpac. In addition, Penang receives many awards and recognition, for example, World Top 10 Best City to Visit in 2014, World Top 15 Best Street Art in 2013, and Asia's 10 Greatest Street Food Cities in 2012. The creative output in Penang includes Penang New Economic Strategy, which has created more innovation-driven entrepreneurs. Penang is also part of the Northern Corridor Economic Region (NCER), and it is home to 6% of the country's SMEs (Penang Institute, 2013).

However, predictably perhaps, the faultlines of George Town's urban economic development implicate complicated relations between the federal-state-local government and the lack of structural features in the political or policy system that involves civil-society (such as a public-private partnership). Despite the federal support government in the form of funds for technology, there is still a poor promotion of techno-preneurship and lack of resources to conduct commercial R&D. Concerning human capital, local creative talent and professionals are tending to leave Penang for better education opportunities and career prospects, leaving a chronic shortage of high-end personnel in established sectors (Hutchinson, 2012), from medical

sciences to engineering. Current salaries and lifetime earnings for researchers are also less attractive (Yusuf and Nabeshima, 2009). Other weaknesses of Penang are the ineffective transportation infrastructure and public transport, growing affordability gap, lack of affordable property for middle-income groups and poor housing quality for lower-income groups (Penang Institute, 2013). The structural and resource problems with lower-income groups relate to the obstacles facing local SMEs or new enterprise: facilities, funding, investment, working capital and markets, are all problematic.

Despite structural inhibitors, opportunities are increasingly visible in George Town. In terms of funding, the federal government is providing funds and grants to support the creative industries, for instance, MyCreative Venture Capital (RM200 millions), Tabung Kebajikan Penggiat Seni (Artistes Welfare Fund: RM3 millions), National Creative Industry Grant (RM120 millions), Content Industry Development Fund (RM100 millions), and Digital Content Industry Fund (RM100 millions). There is a budget of RM27 billion for building new telecommunication towers and laying undersea cables, and a budget focuses on people's economy (Najib, 2014). The government also allocated RM50.4 billion to develop talented, creative and innovative students. More importantly, the National Heritage Act (2005) helps to manage, promote and preserve the heritage and living culture in Penang and Malacca (Khoo, 2013).

The last category of the SWOT analysis is about threats. Malaysia's censorship on popular cultural content, while difficult to evidence, is certainly a cultural limitation on George Town's potential as a Creative City. Penang also risks losing its primary strengths in terms of local peculiarities, lifestyle and identity due to commercial success and concomitant cultural homogenisation (UNESCO, 2009; Khoo, 2013). Moreover, with the over-centralisation of the federal government's power, the states have limited revenue and responsibilities, and they only rely on federal funding. In terms of human capital, brain drain

appears to be a problem (World Bank, 2011), and this could lead to the inability of Malaysia to develop fast-growing markets for knowledge- and innovation-based products and services (World Bank, 2009, p.53).

The SWOT analysis of Penang's potentials as a creative city offers us a generic framework for the evolution of Penang as a site of strategic development. George Town's urban development will be discussed in the next section.

7.3 George Town's Creative City Policy Development

George Town was a seaport since 1786 when the East India Company secured Penang island as a trading post (Khoo, 2013), then growing to a regional port, the gateway of migration and a hub of capital in 1957 Penang became a city by royal charter with a population of 250,000 people. The decline of the free port in the late 1960s sparked huge unemployment, leading to an outflow of Penang's young generation and educated elite. Today, as the third-largest urban conurbation and a major E&E (electrical & electronics) hub, Penang and its capital, George Town, remain as a critical juncture struggling to attract and retain high-quality human capital, with George Town city districts in a state of urban decay.

In 1986, the Penang Heritage Trust was formed to seek to preserve a few public structures and millionaires' mansions. Later, it became concerned with shophouses and inner-city neighbourhoods, and Penang undertook its first state-led pilot restoration project in 1993. Later in 1998, Dr Richard Engelhardt, UNESCO Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific, arrived in Penang and experienced the diverse culture of George Town, later stating: "This is more than a layering of cultures; it is cultural fusion" (Engelhardt, 1998; cited in Khoo, 2013, p.22). During that time, the Malaysian government was anxious to obtain a listing for Melaka as a World Heritage Site, and Engelhardt advised the federal government to include George Town

in order to strengthen the Malaysian bid (Khoo, 2013). That was the starting point of Malaysia's 'serial nomination' for World Heritage.

The agency for the nomination and management of the World Heritage Site has endured changes under the regimes of three prime ministers (Mahathir, Badawi and Najib). In March 2008, Malaysian elections creating a 'political tsunami' swept the opposition coalition into power in Penang and several other states. The World Heritage listing was announced four months later; it seemed as though the result of ten years' effort put in by the former state government has fallen into the lap of the new Pakatan Rakyat state government. On the other hand, this new government had to tackle many old problems in order to maintain the World Heritage status for George Town (Khoo, 2013).

Funding for work on the World Heritage Site remains a concern. The previous Prime Minister and Finance Minister Abdullah Badawi declared in his budget speech of August 2008 that UNESCO listing "reflects a global recognition of our rich and diversified cultural heritage" (Khoo, 2013). Therefore, he announced an RM50 million allocation for conservation works of heritage sites in Malacca and Penang. However, with the new under-financed opposition state government and the federal government, an RM20 million allocation was assigned to Khazanah Nasional, which is the investment holding arm of the federal government. Khazanah has incorporated a special purpose vehicle called 'Think City Sdn Bhd' to implement the George Town Grants Programme, starting from early 2010.

Being listed as the UNESCO World Heritage Site, Melaka and George Town possess three (necessary) 'Outstanding Universal Values' (OUVs), which are the criteria for UNESCO selection. The first is "an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape", which illustrates a significant stage in human history. The nomination showed that Melaka and George Town reflect a mixture of influences which have created a

unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in East and South Asia. In particular, they demonstrate an exceptional range of shophouses and townhouses (Think City, 2013). In order to conserve the city, Penang has to prove the viability and contemporary relevance of the traditional shophouse. The shophouse typically refers to its dual function as a place of residence and trade, although the term shophouse is also generically applied to all pre-war terrace 'dwelling houses'. George Town used to exhibit a density of family businesses. The shophouse was suited for the family business, as the family or extended family was able to live upstairs and work downstairs, thus ensuring security for the shop and store. A challenge for Penang is to re-establish the shophouse model of living and working with a new generation of Penangites and Malaysians.

In order for the George Town built townscape to be sustainably conserved and maintained, several major strategies were observed. The first was an economic strategy to ensure that the buildings are optimally used and economically viable; the second was to regenerate communities by improving liveability; the third was to build expertise and capacity for architectural conservation.

The second Outstanding Universal Value refers to the site as bearing "exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living" (Think City, 2013); the dossier proved that Melaka and George Town are "living testimony to the multi-cultural ... tangible and intangible heritage expressed in the great variety of religious buildings of different faiths, ethnic quarters, the many languages, worship and religious festivals, dances, costumes, art and music, food, and daily life" (Think City, 2013). The third Outstanding Universal Value refers to the site as exhibiting "an important interchange of human values" over a span of time; the dossier gave evidence that Melaka and George Town "represent exceptional examples of multi-cultural trading towns in East and Southeast Asia, forged from the mercantile exchanges of Malay, Chinese, and Indian cultures and three

successive European colonial powers for almost 500 years, each with its imprints on the architecture and urban form, technology and monumental art” (Think City, 2013). Almost a decade-long after the process of joining the World Heritage status begun, George Town was a city on the decline. Urban decay had set in, and the inner city was ‘hollowed out’ (increasingly vacated) with large numbers of locals leaving for the suburbs and beyond. An ageing population also overwhelmingly unskilled labour with a high number of migrant workers, the economic strategy was challenged. Although 4,000 students are resident in Penang, an estimated average of only 10% or 400 remain after their studies; there are fewer families compared with forty years ago (Think City, 2013). As noted above, *Think City* was established in 2009 and had been trying to create a more economically resilient, clean and inclusive city; therefore, they were charged with looking carefully at the relationship between space, the economy and the people. These three factors would shape all of *Think City*’s initiatives (Think City, 2013).



Figure 7.7: *Think City*’s logo

Think City was established to initiate and/or fund projects that would fall into four broad categories:

- (1) Cultural mapping to allow the project to understand each specific site in a holistic way;
- (2) Physical conservation of planned urban structure, buildings and spaces;
- (3) Enhancing shared or public spaces for people to gather, to relax, be entertained in a safe, clean and green environment; and
- (4) Capacity building, which is essential to ensure the sustainability of the site.

Think City also set out six guiding principles that needed to be demonstrated in all the GTGP projects they undertook.



Figure 7.8: Six guiding principles (Think City, 2013, p.7)

Think City is a community-focused urban regeneration organisation. It aims to create more liveable, resilient, and people-centric cities. The organisation is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Khazanah Nasional Berhad and is funded by Yayasan Hasanah. To rejuvenate the historic city of George Town was its first task (it was expanded into three other cities, including Butterworth, Kuala Lumpur, and Johor Bahru). *Think City* works closely with local governments, international agencies, and various local communities.



Figure 7.9: *Think City's* four phases of development (Think City, 2013, p. 7)

The *Think City* mission was to partner with local stakeholders, experts and civil society, and meet the following objectives:

- (1) Create the strategic basis for the urban regeneration of the city;
- (2) Develop the lacking civil society activities and private sector initiatives;
- (3) Build local capacity and capabilities for the protection and development of living heritage, culture and architecture;
- (4) Encourage sustainable development through the creation of a more 'liveable' environment.

The method of *Think City* is by using grants programme. The George Town Grants Programme (GTGP) aims at addressing the lack of public-private partnerships in a relatively short time frame and on a small budget. *Think City* envisioned three phases for the GTGP: during the first year, they focused on being a catalyst to raise awareness of the grants programme and George Town's heritage. Most of the grants were awarded to property owners who wanted to renovate their heritage buildings, which had the advantage of rapid, tangible results and a relationship with property owners. The second phase saw *Think City* funding community-oriented and intangible heritage initiatives, so as not to remain property-focused. Moreover, in their third phase, they aimed to develop shared spaces and projects to encourage the use of spaces to share ideas and develop the city further.

In the context of George Town, a grants programme allowed *Think City* to operate with some credibility in forming (for the city) new types of relationships between the public, private and government sectors in a short period of time. Carefully negotiating existing interests and investments in local property, heritage and the urban infrastructure, they used grants to introduce a set of values, policy aims and language in which to articulate them, steadily orientating the city away from its declining relation between old-style commerce and urban decay. The

George Town Grants Programme (GTGP) was designed both to leveraging on George Town's UNESCO World Heritage Status, and also to deliver publicly funded projects that aimed to improve the quality of life and the quality of the environment for both residents and visitors and to provide a comprehensive, long-term approach that would enable the city to effectively manage the present and any future challenge. This policy rhetoric was easier than the practice but revitalising the centre was conducted relatively swiftly by appealing to existing interests and co-funding the upgrade of existing facilities. This allowed for the visible increase in aesthetic value, identity and quality of work and living environment, arresting (attractive to the workers required for economic sustainability), arresting the state of physical decay, which in turn facilitated a rise in visitor economy, new spaces for accommodation and new industries.

The year 2014 was a crucial transition period, as *Think City* would up its last remaining projects in Penang and initiated the GTGP Impact Assessment in order to objectively examine the extent of its impact.

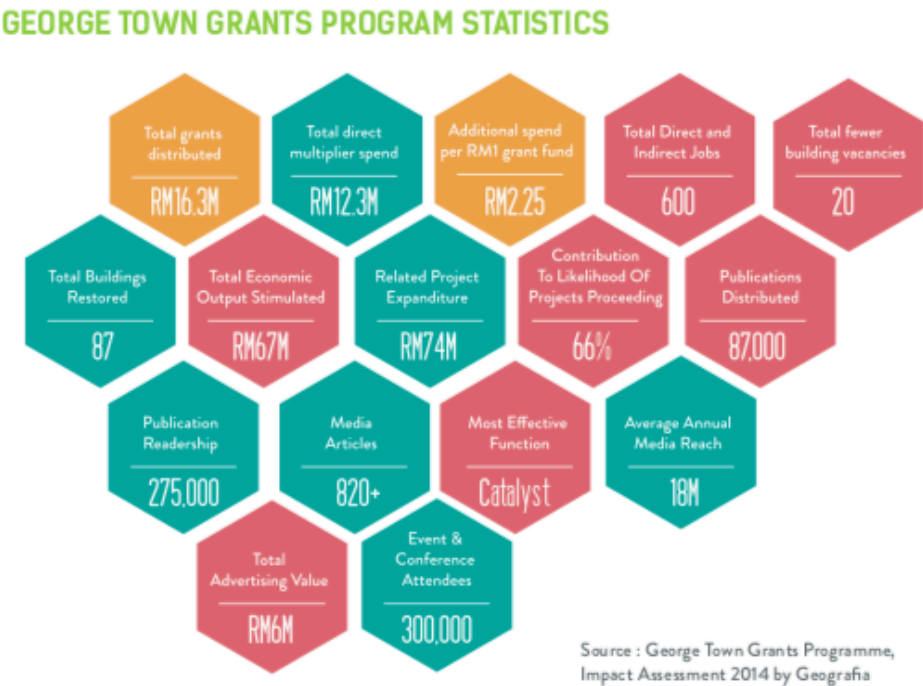


Figure 7.10: George Town Grants Programme statistics (Think City, 2014)

The roots for the George Town Action Plan (GTAP) were put down firmly at the end of 2013 when *Think City* signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) for the George Town Strategic Master Plan, which led up to the GTAP. Collaborating with the Aga Khan Trust would further the development of George Town making it a liveable city, for example, establishing proper urban design guidelines, returning the waterfront to the people, and improving public amenities.

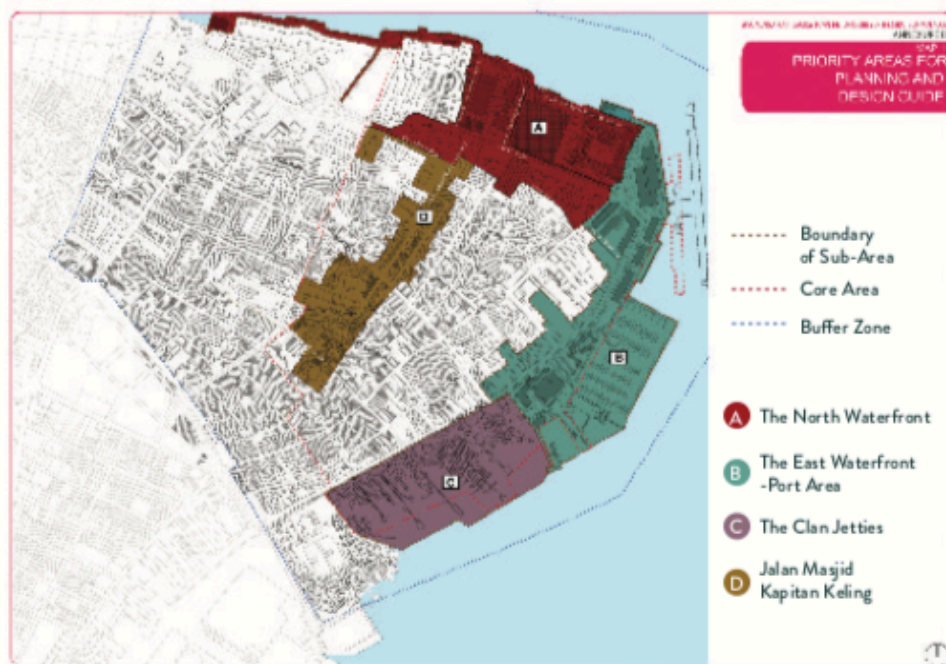


Figure 7.11: *The George Town Action Plan* (Think City, 2014, p.26)



Figure 7.12: Chew Jetty, George Town, Penang (Author, 2018)



Figure 7.13: Waterfront area at Chew Jetty (Author, 2018)

In July 2010, the George Town Festival (GTF) event took place in honour of the city's UNESCO World Heritage Status. The main sponsors of the George Town Festival were the State Government, Penang Global Tourism (State Tourism Bureau), and George Town

World Heritage Incorporated. The festival remains a month-long art and cultural programme, drawing on the ASEAN region in making the heritage and historic culture a contemporary experience. It can feature over one hundred acts, performances, exhibitions, and installations are provided, most free of charge and open to the public, and now a regional brand in Southeast Asia (George Town Festival, 2014). Cultural venues now extend all over the city, and an adaptation of the existing urban landscape to dynamic event and performance-oriented culture has become a feature of the city.



Figure 7.14: *George Town Festival's posters* (George Town Festival, 2018)

7.3.1 George Town Creative City Making: A Policy Tabulation

In this part, the creative activities of George Town are analysed using the classification on modes of urban cultural policy and modes of creative cities policy proposed by Grodach (2017).

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Public patronage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support artistic excellence Enhance access to the arts Promote national identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Art grants Cultural facilities Heritage preservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arts organisations Federal, state, and local governments
Economic impact of cultural amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase arts funding Arts in growth coalition Attract city centre investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment Economic impact studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arts organisations Local governments Various development interests
Cultural planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community development and participation Support local cultural expression Neighbourhood economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community cultural engagement Integrate arts in urban planning process Support neighbourhood cultural projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arts organisations and residents Community organisations and residents Local governments
Cultural industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engage marginalised communities Recognition of cultural industries beyond "the arts" Urban economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural industries in redevelopment Rehab industrial districts Study cultural production and agglomerations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural firms and intermediaries Local government Redevelopment interests

Table 7.1: *Four modes of urban cultural policy, 1980s-present*
(Grodach, 2017, p. 84)

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary actors
Creative city strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attract high skilled labour and investment Economic growth Public participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quality of life amenities for redevelopment Inter-agency collaboration Public-private partnerships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local government agencies Varied urban interest groups
Creative industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attract high skilled labour and investment Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote R&D, intellectual property development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and local government Entrepreneurs ICT, entertainment and media industries

Creative class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract high skilled labour and investment • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life amenities • Urban branding and consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government agencies • Varied urban interest groups
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Table 7.2: *Creative city policy* (Grodach, 2017, p. 85)

Creative activities in George Town is provided in the table chronically, starting from the year 1986 when the establishment of the Penang Heritage Trust was firstly introduced. Projects run by *Think City* and George Town are categorised using the modes of urban cultural policy and creative city policy, then summarised and subject to critique.

Year	Projects	Urban cultural policy	Creative city policy
1986	The establishment of the Penang Heritage Trust <u>What:</u> To preserve public structures and millionaires' mansions		
1993	State-led pilot restoration project		
2008	UNESCO World Heritage Status <u>Actors:</u> State government and federal government <u>What:</u> awarded to George Town and Malacca		
	George Town Transformation Programme <u>Actor:</u> Khazanah Nasional Berhad <u>What:</u> It intends to provide a holistic approach to the physical, social and economic elements of maintaining George Town as a heritage site.	Public patronage Objectives: 1) Promote national identity Approach: 1) Heritage preservation Cultural planning Objectives: 1) Community development and participation 2) Neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1) Integrate arts in urban planning process 2) Support neighbourhood cultural projects	

2009	The establishment of Think City <u>Actors:</u> Khazanah Nasional Berhad <u>What:</u> Think City is a community-focused urban regeneration organisation that aims to create more liveable, resilient and people-centric cities.	Cultural planning Objectives: 1) Community development and participation 2) Support local cultural expression 3) Neighbourhood economic development Approach: 1) Community cultural engagement 2) Integrate arts in urban planning process 3) Support neighbourhood cultural projects	
2010	George Town Festival <u>Actors:</u> the state government, Penang Global Tourism (State Tourism Bureau), George Town World Heritage Incorporated. <u>What:</u> in honour of the city's UNESCO status		Creative industries Objectives: 1) Attract high skilled labour and investment 2) Economic growth Approach: 1) Promote R&D, intellectual property development Creative class Objectives: 1) Attract high skilled labour and investment 2) Economic growth Approach: 1) Quality of life amenities 2) Urban branding and consumption
	George Town Grants Programme <u>Actor:</u> Think City <u>What:</u> -Creating a thriving, vibrant George Town to attract more talent to Penang and help it avoid the middle-income trap; -Arresting the state of physical and social decay in George Town; -Encouraging sustainable tourism and high, long-term growth industries to attract	Public patronage Objectives: 1) Support artistic excellence 2) Enhance access to the arts 3) Promote national identity Approach: 1) Art grants 2) Cultural facilities 3) Heritage preservation	

	<p>people and business back to the city; and</p> <p>-Leveraging on George Town's UNESCO World Heritage Status (WHS).</p> <p><u>When</u>: run for 3 years (2010-2013)</p>	<p>Cultural planning</p> <p>Objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Community development and participation 2) Support local cultural expression 3) Neighbourhood economic development <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Community cultural engagement 2) Integrate arts in urban planning process 3) Support neighbourhood cultural projects 	
2013	<p>George Town Action Plan</p> <p><u>Actors</u>: Think City and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)</p> <p><u>What</u>: 1) establishing proper urban design guidelines; 2) returning the waterfront to the people; 3) improving public amenities.</p>	<p>Cultural industries</p> <p>Objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Engage marginalised communities 2) Recognition of cultural industries beyond "the arts" 3) Urban economic development <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Cultural industries in redevelopment 2) Rehab industrial districts 3) Study cultural production and agglomerations 	<p>Creative city strategy</p> <p>Objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Attract high skilled labour and investment 2) Economic growth 3) Public participation <p>Approach:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Quality of life amenities for redevelopment 2) Inter-agency collaboration 3) Public-private partnerships

Table 7.3: *The analysis of George Town's projects using policy modes*

George Town's creative projects

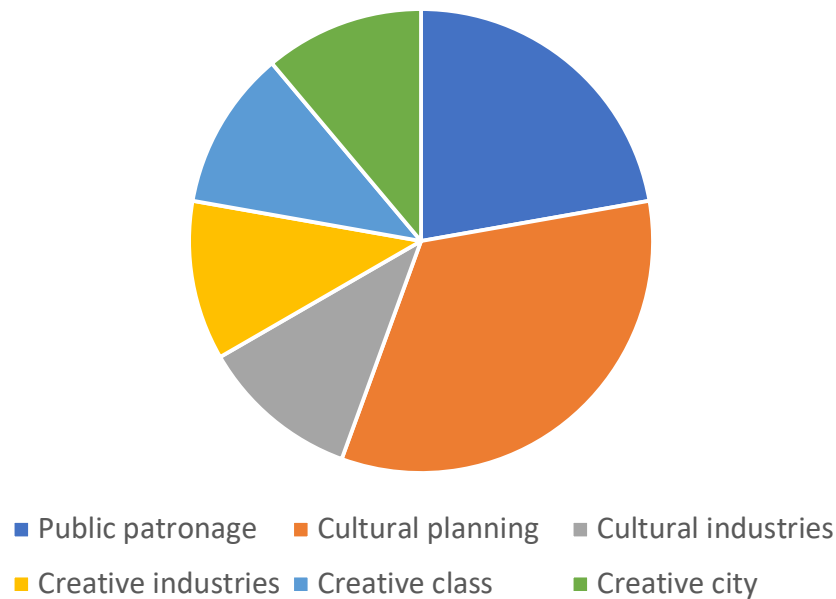


Figure 7.15: *George Town's creative projects chart*

The pie chart above presents creative projects in George Town as divided into six categories: (i) public patronage, (ii) cultural planning, (iii) cultural industries, (iv) creative industries, (v) creative class, and (vi) creative city. Thirty-three per cent (33%) of the projects is categorised in the cultural planning mode of urban cultural policy, 22% in public patronage, and 11% each in cultural industries, creative industries, creative class, and creative city. This shows the direction of George Town's urban development that its focus has been going towards the cultural planning and public patronage of the city.

7.4 George Town and Neoliberalism

The central research questions articulated in the introductory section involve an assessment on how the Creative City construct has been adopted and adapted to the city's urban realities, and, does there remain a significant interrelation of the Creative City notion with neoliberalism.

The way George Town adopted the Creative City notion can be compared to Bandung and Cebu. George Town's Creative City interests did not begin with the policy trend or economic boosterism, but the encouragement of an outsider to become involved in the UNESCO World Heritage Site programme. Bandung and Cebu both were first stimulated by policy innovation by a third party, in their case the British Council. With George Town, however, the federal government played a significant role: according to the Eleventh Malaysia Plan for 2016-2020 (11MP), cities have been identified as a 'game-changer' for the nation (Think City, 2014), and first created the impetus for a city-based development initiative. The consequent World Heritage status, then allowed the city itself to leverage federal government funds for an urban development programme.

The agency *Think City* became the strategic fulcrum, medium and funding agent for the city's urban development, aiming to "build relationships with government agencies, the city council, NGOs, the private sector, as well as local and international heritage and urban regeneration agencies" (Think City, 2013, p.5). Like Chiang Mai, urban development was a hybrid policy where many actors and agencies were coordinated on the same or similar goals. With *Think City's* enlightened and UNESCO and UNHabitat-influenced strategy framework, urban development in George Town had clear policy aims for what it understood as the different (even conflicting) dimensions of the city — property owners and local interests, and the broader social community and cultural sector.

While as a UNESCO World Heritage Site maintained and protected the tangible heritage and historical identity of the city as it began to undergo urban development (notoriously, urban development can often set off destructive forces that public policies can have little control over; protections can be of significant benefit). Nonetheless, the city required a real economy and liveability in order to be sustainable (i.e. not a living museum at the mercy of fluctuating public

funds). This did not transpire as a dual-policy development of heritage policy and economic policy side by side, but where heritage policy was the basis for urban cultural policy innovation. One example was the George Town Interpretation Masterplan. Conducted by *Think City*, “The Masterplan is designed as an iterative, living document that establishes guidelines for interpretation that will also evolve as its recommendations are implemented” (George Town Interpretation Masterplan, 2013). The Masterplan framework was a thematic framework, which found a unity in the existing historical narrative within the city, articulated during the UNESCO World Heritage application stage: three themes instantiated the city’s three Outstanding Universal Values (George Town Interpretation Masterplan, 2013). These were: (i) multicultural identity and living heritage (identity: George Town’s rich cultural fabric theme), (ii) exceptional examples of multicultural trading towns (transformations theme), and (iii) unique architecture, townscape and culture (connections through place theme: George Town Interpretation Masterplan, 2013). The significance of this was methodological. The city was not branded with generic ‘Creative City’ label or image scheme, but through research and a mapping of existing urban culture, and through a protection and promotion of the historical meaning-laden infrastructure of the city (even though degraded), the city became a medium of significant cultural urban planning. One might contest that an opportunity was missed to re-invent or re-create the city — as the Creative City policy notion allows a city an act of imagination in overcoming past limits and restrictions. However, the city (through the agency *Think City* and their engagement with UNESCO and UNHabitat policy strategies for sustainability and urban transformation from within) enabled an enfranchisement of all residents and interested stakeholders in the city. This, unfortunately, remains largely unacknowledged by scholars in the field (e.g. Khoo, 2013; Chang, 2015) who still frame their discussion of the city in terms of World Heritage. George Town Festival, rather, is coextensive with

the approach of a transformation from within, not simply importing ideas or models from without.

In this section, Brenner and Theodore's (2002) 'Destructive and Creative Moments of Neoliberal Localisation' table will be used to asses neoliberalism in the city of George Town.

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
<i>Restructuring strategies of territorial development</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dismantling of autocentric national models of capitalist growth • Destruction of traditional compensatory regional policies • Increasing exposure of local and regional economies to global competitive forces • Fragmentation of national space-economies into discrete urban and regional industrial systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of free trade zones, enterprise zones, and other deregulated spaces within major urban regions • Creation of new development areas, technopoles, and other new industrial spaces at subnational scales • Mobilization of new "glocal" strategies intended to rechannel economic capacities and infrastructure investments into "globally connected" local/regional agglomerations
<i>Transformations of the built environment and urban form</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces • Destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment • Retreat from community-oriented planning initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption • Construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns • Creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other "purified" spaces of social reproduction • "Rolling forward" of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization • Adoption of the principle of "highest and best use" as the basis for major land-use planning decisions

<i>Restructuring urban housing markets</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Razing public housing and other forms of low-rent accommodation • Elimination of rent controls and project-based construction subsidies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of new opportunities for speculative investment in central-city real estate markets • Emergency shelters become “warehouses” for the homeless • Introduction of market rents and tenant-based vouchers in low-rent niches of urban housing markets
<i>Re-representing the city</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas

Table 7.4: *Mechanisms of neoliberal localisation* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.369-372)

Penang is also now trying to position itself in the Northern Corridor Economic Region which is a development plan encompassing the four northwestern states of Malaysia, namely Perlis, Penang, Kedah and northern Perak. It was launched in 2007 by the federal government with an aim to transform the region into a sustainable and socioeconomically balanced region by 2025. This suggests that an initially generous approach to urban policy and priority on cities on the part of the national government was a strategic move for interests of the national economy not the people of George Town. Furthermore, festivals like the George Town Festival of arts can also be framed in terms of commercialisation of public space, as festivals are arguably the most commercially profitable cultural policies and popular with cities everywhere, but few urban infrastructural implications.

The Think City, however, worked with an emphasis on ‘placemaking’ – term that has a long urban design and planning history in the USA but now an internal part of UNESCO and UNHabitat’s sustainable development approach to urban cultural policies (Think City, 2013).

One specific placemaking projects that received GTGP is the housing the community of the Hock Teik, Chinese society in George Town.

Over two hundred years of migrants flowing into the city of George Town has made for a historic form of cultural diversity. As new migrants arrived, informal systems of community housing began to evolve. For the Chinese community, the Kongsí or clan house provided an important first place of call. These clan houses were meant for men who shared the same surname and provided temporary shelter and place for new immigrants to network and gather information about their new home (Think City, 2013). The Hock Teik dated back to the mid-nineteenth century and began as a secret society. After the Penang Riots in 1867, the society reinvented itself as a benevolent society and provided housing for its poorer members. These days, the Hock Teik still manages and rents out ten houses along Armenian Street (Think City, 2013).

When George Town was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008, one of the issues that raised concerns was how to secure housing for existing inner-city tenants. Between the 1997-2000 Rent Control Act, the city had already lost a large segment of its community. Now, gentrification is threatening lower-income tenants, and with the hike in property values and rental incomes, many property owners are looking to restore their buildings to increase their value. It is estimated that since 2008, property prices in George Town have seen an average increase of 70% (Think City, 2013). Under such circumstances, many existing tenants who have lived in the inner city for generations have been forced to move out, either due to the lack of tenancy security or the inability to bear the increment in rentals. These tenants lack a community platform where they could seek advice or funding resources to deal with the circumstances. The Grants Programme Director of Think City, Suraya Ismail, believes that 'the people are the lifeblood of the city', by which, she explains that the urban expanse of the city is not only built (or tangible) but intangible

heritage, including the skills and the traditions of the people who live in the city (Think City, 2013, p.47).



Figure 7.16: *Selling of an old shophouse in George Town city centre* (Author, 2018)



Figure 7.17: *Shophouses in George Town* (Author, 2018)



Figure 7.18: Shophouses in George Town (Author, 2018)

Think City agreed to grant the trustees of the Hock Teik to improve the façade of their houses after the exploratory discussions. From the *Think City*'s interview, many of the tenants have lived in the houses for generations. They have a fear of moving out as they saw their neighbouring tenants left their homes as rental prices increased. If the Hock Teik decided to increase the rental price, they might have to move out (Think City, 2013). *Think City* had concluded to pioneer a community development fund (CDF) that would pool funding from *Think City*, the Hock Teik, and the Asian Coalition of Housing Rights (ACHR) to encourage the Hock Teik to freeze rents for a ten-year period. In doing so, *Think City* is stopping the process of gentrification and neoliberalisation. However, keep feeding the fund to sustain these buildings might not be the best solution in the long term. The Hock Teik and the tenants have to come up with a long-term plan to preserve the houses.

Moreover, the George Town Action Plan (GTAP), which is the next step of the GTGP after the programme ended in 2013, is carrying on the process of urban regeneration in the city. This includes, for example, establishing proper urban design guidelines, returning the waterfront to the people, and improving public amenities. This means that despite the need of trying to preserve some buildings, other projects still have to be carried on as a part of the development process. As can be understood that governmental documents like *Cities, People, and the Economy: A Study on Positioning Penang* by Khazanah Nasional Berhad and the World Bank (2010) and Think City's magazines portray George Town as a city of urban decay. By having the UNESCO World Heritage status, Think City has played an important part in presenting the need for revitalisation and rejuvenation of the George Town areas to maintain the World Heritage status. These, according to Brenner and Theodore (2002), have been categorised as the moment of destruction and creation of neoliberal localisation.

Conclusion

This chapter has articulated the transformations in the built environment and urban form in relation to the criteria of neoliberal localisation. The transformations in George Town's urban spaces are symptomatic of structural changes, as the narrative has hopefully demonstrated, and emerging dilemmas of social inclusion and diversity in the city have been identified. Moreover, as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the city development plan's policy context is complex and must continue to cohere with the UNESCO heritage framework of Outstanding Universal Values, as well as dynamic development demands. This could make for a viable pathway for George Town to evolve as a creative place, or it could limit the home-grown capacity for creativity and solution-building for the city's economic sustainability challenges.

This chapter has also found that despite the implementation of creativity-based policies, which have had some evident measure of impact, George Town remains to a degree embedded in a widening income gap and lack of jobs or opportunities for young people, graduates and professionals. However, George Town is categorically different from the other three case studies in its heritage status and management of the process of neoliberalisation. The George Town Grants Programme (offered by *Think City*) provided a fulcrum of activities that to some degree promoted and protected the social basis and urban environment in which creativity is sustainable and seem to temporarily help ameliorate the process of the social division generated by income disparity and lack of opportunity. However, the grants programme ceased in 2013, and the projects supported by the grants programme, even when they continued for a period, did not develop sustainably.

The next chapter will discuss four vital issues selected from the diagnose of neoliberal processes from the 'mechanisms of neoliberal localisation' table of Brenner and Theodore (2002). Diagnosed from the mechanism of (the cited) 'reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state', the central cultural-political issue of *participation* emerges in Chiang Mai. The central cultural-political issue of 're-representing the city' is identified in Bandung. For the Cebu case, the 'interlocal policy transfer' process is subject to critique, and for George Town, the 'transformations of the built environment and urban form' will be assessed. This chapter serves to use the case analysis narrative so as to identify and subject to critical analysis, a central feature of Creative City urban cultural policy.

Chapter 8 Analysis

Taking our theoretical framework — the ‘diagnostic’ table of Brenner and Theodore (2002) used throughout the thesis, four vital issues are extrapolated as a means of determining the crisis of democracy within the creative city framework as applied in our four ASEAN countries. This analytical approach is interpretative insofar as a concept central to a general theory of democracy is extrapolated and applied in a critical assessment of each city — based on the empirical field research conducted in each country and used in the case studies. This chapter is thus a critical assessment of each case study and predicated on the veracity of the case study as a representation of each city — it purposively does not introduce ‘new’ primary empirical material (only secondary research and commentary), and therefore serves as an interpretative discussion prior to the thesis conclusion.

The four concepts extrapolated from Brenner and Theodore are as follows: participation, representation, public policymaking (procedure and process), and social diversity, and each is, in turn, identified as ‘problematic’ within each of the four creative city cases. The four concepts are not applied arbitrarily or randomly but diagnostically — by way of a critical reflection on the cases each concept alerts us of a specific quandary generated by the creative city model or strategic approach. These four concepts are, obviously, constitutive of many general theories of democracy (traditional theory of democracy, the pluralist theory of democracy, the elite theory of democracy, hyperpluralism, etc.). The chapter aims to determine whether (a) if democratisation is hindered by the creative city model, and (b) if this hindering of democracy is symptomatic of what we have defined as ‘neoliberalism’ at work in the developmental dynamics of creative city policy implementation.

The four short critical assessments do not pretend to draw on an exhaustive empirical assessment of the extent to which each city has integrated its creative city policy within its urban economic development. This is a cultural study, and it aims to define the cultural dilemma of the ASEAN appropriation of the creative city framework. In the course of the interpretative discussion, however, secondary texts will be cited from as broad sources as possible.

There is, of course, no single model of democratic practice in policy, and in practice, democracy is not one model of either government or governance. It is a range of approaches that share set of values: “participation, representation, popular elections, citizenship, and the ability to choose freely among political options or alternatives” (Zanetti, 2007, p.2). Participation can be understood as a value at the heart of democracy and not just a practice or means of involvement in the political process. Generally, then, a democratic society ensures that citizens are involved in the way and means the authorities use in determining policy options, whereby priority pertains to options that aim for a general increase in welfare and wellbeing of citizens (over and above any specific political preference for a social and economic change).

In ASEAN, democracy is also a central principle of the association, which shows in the adoption of the ASEAN Charter, the ASEAN Declaration on Human Rights, and the establishment of the ASEAN Community (Pitsuwan, 2017, p.7). Pitsuwan (2017) points out how the emphasis on democracy is based on a recognition that this will strengthen the development of the region, and where development could be defined through interconnecting and incorporating previously isolated policy areas into broader system and networks, as well as enhance mutual support, equal entitlement, and reciprocal accountability. However, as this chapter will argue, democracy in the ASEAN creative cities has moved in a direction opposite to that defined by Pitsuwan. Rather than connecting the various interest or

public groups of citizens, the policy has also become a mechanism for further division and promotion of a form of economic individualism characteristic of neoliberalism. Furthermore, where democracy is not a political model, stable and secure, a continual process of democratisation is required, particularly important in that “today’s neoliberalism, grounded in the desire to afford individuals more freedom for their market-based initiatives, privileges those who have the economic, social, and political power to make the market work for them. Gone is any political momentum toward a more equal democracy” (Well et al., 2002). Apple (2001) also argues that “neoliberalism transforms our very idea of democracy, making it only an economic concept, not a political one” where democracy is not exercised and used by a particular group of people to achieve power and economic benefits.

8.1 Chiang Mai and ‘Participation’

Banyan (2007, p.2) states that “The concept of participation implies involvement in public decisions, as distinguished from other forms of community involvement. Public decisions are those in which the entire community has a stake in the outcome”. The broad participatory mechanisms that would ensure the fairness, openness, competence and legitimacy in a democratised society are, classically, electoral participation, direct forms of participation, citizen-government interactions, group participation, and activism and dissent (ibid). Two mechanisms that are relevant to the Creative City discourse as it has become a policy framework in the Thai city of Chiang Mai are citizen-government interactions and group participation. The mechanism of group participation will be assessed first, as this relates to the central mechanism of the governance model of Chiang Mai’s creative city making operations. Group participation takes place when “individuals feed their preferences through an organisation or body that acts as a mediator to express their interests” (Banyan, 2007, p.4), and while group participation allows the representation of marginal or

disadvantaged voices, this matter is less obvious and perhaps incurs a greater political risk.

There are three issues we need to take into account: “(i) Groups are not equally accountable to all citizens but primarily respond to their own constituencies, (ii) groups are not necessarily guided by ‘community’ principles, and (iii) not all community interests are represented by groups” (Banyan, 2007, p.4). These are taken as assumptions in our assessment on citizen-government interaction in Chiang Mai. We assume that in order to ensure citizen representation, the government must interact with citizens in some specific capacity, notably in ways that inform the making and implementation stages of policy. This might be public meetings, hearings, citizen surveys, consensus-building processes, or any other method that de facto defines citizens as a ‘public’ with rights and interests and involve these in the making of political decisions pertaining to the sphere of those interests (Banyan, 2007, p.3). The criteria of assessment by which participation in the Chiang Mai Creative City will be conducted will be drawn from the above. The first criterion is the visible inclusion of the public interest — and how this is involved in important urban decisions concerning the city’s culture (i.e. the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, the UNESCO World Heritage Site status). The second criterion is citizen-involvement — whether priorities, processes and procedures pertaining to the policymaking and implementation stages (such as consultations, hearings or surveys). These criteria are basic with regard to our concept of democracy, and obviously, do not attempt to ascertain the extent or depth of democracy or democratisation that the Creative City framework might cultivate. It will, however, offer a conceptual framework to identify the integrity of democracy in cultural policymaking by assessing the extent of public participation in Chiang Mai.

8.1.1 Participation and the Creative City

From the outset, the Creative City discourse has awarded significance to 'participation' broadly (both culture and social — implied in the repeated 'collaborative' dimensions of city-development as lauded by the Creative City's key theoretical architects — Charles Landry, Richard Florida, and John Howkins. However, 'participation', which essentially a concept traditional to liberal democracy, is also articulated in broad cultural and social terms that do not necessarily require processes of democracy or the institutional apparatus we may expect of democratic societies.

In 1996, Landry, Greene, Matarasso, and Bianchini's *The Art of Regeneration: Urban Renewal Through Cultural Activity*, we find a typical example of an emphasis on the supposedly clear benefits of participation in the form of participatory arts programmes. Argued is the point that participation offers "a route to personal development which suits how people learn about communication, personal effectiveness and self-reliance, and have shown their attraction for those who have found conventional education opportunities inappropriate" (Landry et al., 1996, p.31). It is further asserted that "As a result, participation can improve and widen life choices and give confidence to individuals, who often become key agents in restoring vitality and confidence within local communities. This process has produced a wide range of positive impacts" (Landry et al., 1996, p.31). As a general statement then, participation enhances social cohesion, improves the perception of the local area, reduces behaviour inimical to social cohesion, develop self-confidences in citizens, promotes an interest in maintaining the local environment, and further, a culture of collaboration emerges in the form of sectoral partnerships, organisational capacity, and a clear vision of what is possible in terms of actual future development (Landry et al., 1996, p.31-33). Landry's expanded re-issue of the seminal statement *The Creative City* (2000) tends to "frame" these assertions with a form of Human Development, whereby the most critical resource a city possesses is its "people," in

terms of “Human cleverness, desires, motivations, imagination and creativity”, which are gradually “replacing location, natural resources and market access” as “urban resources” — for, “The creativity of those who live in and run cities will determine future success” (Landry, 2000, p.51).

Richard Florida’s now famous Creative Class thesis obviously proposes the emergence of a new category of social class, his theory of industrial development does prioritise people in terms of their individual aptitudes, capabilities and aspirations. Moreover, while many have framed Florida’s creative class in terms of free-market neoliberalism (Peck, 2005, etc.), he nonetheless maintained an emphatic series of claims on the necessity of certain social and urban conditions. In his latest popular book, *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do About It* (2017, p.xxi), he returns to these conditions and indicates that the “enduring success in the new people-driven, place-based economy turned on doing the smaller things that made cities great places to live and work — things like making sure there were walkable, pedestrian-friendly streets, bike lanes, parks, exciting art and music scenes, and vibrant areas where people could gather in cafés and restaurants”. He continues, “Cities needed more than a competitive business climate; they also needed a great people climate...” (Florida, 2017, p.xxi). While the social and urban conditions of human creative flourishing were always embedded in his theory, the term ‘people climate’ was quite new and quite untheorised.

As for John Howkins’ theorisation of the creative economy, he does make significant mention of the effect of the new economic change in people’s lives, including workplace, homes, and cities (Howkins, 2001, p.viii-xiv). And insofar as the creative economy is an urban phenomenon, Howkins states that the heart of the creative transformation of industry is a general determination for people to want to think of new ideas that stimulate others, and this could not happen

without an industrial-urban economy that facilitated optimum participation, and a consequent shaping power in cities (Howkins, 2001, p.ix).

Thus, Landry, Florida and Howkins together indicate a widespread assumption on participation, in its cultural, social and urban senses. Consequently, the 'fast' policy of creative city-making has an assumed rhetoric of participation embedded within it, which, by implication involves normative democratic expectations on the role of citizens (not simply consumers) in shaping their social environment of habitation and work.

8.1.2 Participation in Chiang Mai Creative City

In Chiang Mai, we find three organisations central to the Creative City policy project: Creative Chiang Mai, Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art, and Thailand Creative and Design Centre (TCDC). Creative Chiang Mai was the first organisation to advocate the Creative City policy concept in the city and by working with the Chiang Mai University Science and Technology Park; their advocacy emphasises innovation and technology. Their industrial framework is not simply a generic 'creative industries' but more specific 'design industry' as exemplified in the annual Chiang Mai Design Awards (CDA, established in 2012). Aiming to promote innovation and creativity together, the range of design categories award demonstrates an attempt to maintain a specificity of purpose along with a recognition that 'design' as an 'industry' or 'sector' is actually hybrid and contains some very different professional areas (from graphic design to architecture). Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art is a network association whose central purpose was to support the application of Chiang Mai to membership of the UNESCO Creative Cities programme (awarded October 2017). The TCDC is supervised by the Royal Thai Government's Office of Knowledge Management and Development, and founded in 2004 is a central think tank, advocacy

and commissioning centre that is, again, spearheaded by the ‘design industry’.

8.1.3 Governance and Policy Implementation

A central dimension of participation is some measure of involvement of sector professionals or the general public in decision-making – organisational and policy-based. This section demands a comment on the concept of governance in Chiang Mai as it has been subject to the forces of neoliberalism along with the rest of the public or governmentally-funded institutional sector (Bevir, 2007, p.364-380). Governance is a complex and fragmented pattern of rule composed of multiplying networks (ibid) – often institutions responsible for devolved powers. Our central research question is how, if at all, governance in the city is facilitated by the new Creative City policy discourse? Is there reason to infer or assert that it has? The neoliberal narratives of free market, civil society, and corporate power, suggests that ‘governance’ itself is essential to a capitalist social order, central to whose concept of organisation is not, logically, collective cooperation but individual self-interested action directed on the basis of market norms and calculated cost-benefit ratios aiming for profit or at least utility maximisation (Bevir, 2007). As noted in Chapter Three neoliberalism is characterised by marketisation and the ‘new public management’ inculcation of corporate strategic management as a template for public institutions and/or social services (ibid). This section argues that the model of cultural governance in Chiang Mai, as exemplified by the Creative City policy development is organisational participation without citizen involvement.

The central agencies of governance in Chiang Mai’s Creative City are cited above. As Costa, Magalhães, Vasconcelos, and Sugahara note (2007, 2008), the UK’s Department of Culture, Media and Sports’ (DCMS) well-publicised definition of ‘creative industries’ and subsequent market-oriented development policies made an impact

worldwide (Costa et al., 2007, p.127), and which continues through the British Council's creative cities scheme as well as a multitude of national arts councils, Western consultancies and indigenous think tanks like Thailand's TCDC. TCDC's influence is national, Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk art is very much a local or at best regional influence, and Creative Chiang Mai is a city-based non-profit organisation. Costa, Magalhães, Vasconcelos, and Sugahara (2008) propose three different axes of analysis for a study of governance: national versus local/regional, policy intervention versus the influence of non-policies, and public versus non-public projects (See Costa et al. 2008, 2009).

Costa, Magalhães, Vasconcelos, and Sugahara argue that for creative city policies, the regional/local level of governance is most effective as it impacts dimensions of the urban economy not encompassed by national models of governance. The branch of TCDC in Chiang Mai is suggested as evidence of this: as interviewed, the director of the TCDC Chiang Mai stated that he recognises the distance between the organisations programme and the social life of the city (and, the character of the projects and identity of the city), and that was in part its strategic role as national government advocate (Buakeow, 2017). This further suggests that Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art's and the Creative Chiang Mai projects lessen the sense of distance between cultural organisations and the social life of the city. As local organisations, projects run by these two actors are more connected to the social life of the city. The craft industry is a well-known industry in Chiang Mai. Creative Chiang Mai offers *handmade-Chiangmai* and *salahmade* as online platforms to connect artisans and buyers. They present stories and procedures of artisans and craft products (handmade-Chiangmai, 2017). This way, artisans are offered more extensive network and connection, rather than just passing the middleman.

For the axis of 'policy intervention versus non-policies' (that is, without explicit policy-making for the development of creativity in cities: Costa et al., 2008), all three Chiang Mai organisations bear some influence on the shaping and making of the city as a creative city through the force of their institutional presence, networked professionals, projects and creative outputs. Firstly, the Creative Chiang Mai influenced the Chiang Mai government to apply for the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Presenting endless opportunities on the economy and urban development by using creativity as a driving force, Creative Chiang Mai has injected the creativity discourse into the urban scene. Not long after the failed application of Chiang Mai as a 'design' city to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, the Chiang Mai government grabbed the opportunity to redo this again by appointing the Chiang Mai University's Faculty of Fine Arts to work on the application for the UNESCO Creative Cities Network as a 'crafts and folk art' city and the city finally gained the title in 2017. Moreover, these creative organisations have influenced the use of creativity discourse in the city by hosting events that have impacted the city. The annual 'Chiang Mai Design Week' by the collaboration of these three organisations, private and government sectors in Chiang Mai is a good example of how the creativity discourse has been spread in the city. It is a week-long event that showcases mainly crafts and design industry. Apart from regional and international audiences, people and the social life in Chiang Mai are influenced bits by bits by this event.

The last discussed axis, 'public versus non-public projects' can be qualified by the observation that "Besides...governance models mainly based on public projects, there are governance strategies that are the outcome of non-public will (even if they are in part publicly funded)" (Costa et al., 2008, p.409). These projects could be "the product of non-profit organisations such as associations, foundations or agencies funded with public and/or private money" (Costa et al. 2008, p.409). Furthermore, they maintain two spheres of organisational activity: (i) the promotion of a specific creative

activity/genre or sub-sector of the creative industries; and (ii) the promotion of a geographic area (region, city, quarter, district, borough, and so on), often in terms of the diversity of creative activities and industries located therein. This governance model pertains to the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and Creative Chiang Mai, quite obviously. Both are promoting specific genres or professional areas of creative industry (the craft industry, the design industry) but these areas are defined as hybrid given the spectrum of activities in these categories within the bounds of the city. And both participate in the identity-enhancement and promotion of the city as a creative location. Therefore, Creative Chiang Mai and Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art can participate in city branding, whereas it appears to be harder for TCDC.

Policy implementation

Policy implementation is a critical stage within policymaking itself and not simply the 'application' of policy (Bardach, 1977). Implementation is so often where the policy becomes visible in the public realm, open to reflection, feedback or criticism, and if the policymaking process is subject to democratic accountability, review and assessment of outcomes will be essential to the continuity of implementation (whether to the refinement or amendment of policy, or of strategy or the programmes by which policy is activated, or amendment and change). A question emerges as to whom, and on behalf of whom (representation) implementation takes place. Who is involved? In the previous section, the second 'axis' of Costa et al. indicates that the governance model in Chiang Mai belongs to a 'non-policies' one, which makes it harder to ensure the involvement of citizens in the policy implementation stage. The dominant three Creative City organisations all claim to be acting on behalf of the people of the city, but this is simply a generalised notion that includes residents, visitors, workers (of all categories).

The example of the application to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network by the Chiang Mai local government in the previous section demonstrates how policy is made in the city. 'Buzz' words or trends that have grabbed the local government's attention make it into the urban policy of the city without much citizens participation. People participate in the policymaking of the city are those in the government, in organisations which include people in higher social status.

A further matter for the critical scrutiny of implementation is the 'organisational field' of creative organisations in the city. Do the organisations cooperate, and work in an interconnected or strategic way, or are they quite disconnected from each other? If the latter, then the potential for overlap, competition, cross-checking or collegiality may raise questions concerning efficiency and accountability in the public realm of the city. From the interviews, this has been proven by the three organisations themselves that they work quite separately in strategy and projects planning (Boonyasurat, 2017; Buakeow, 2017; Venzky-Stalling, 2017). In Chiang Mai, the implementation of the Creative City policy take place in ways that can be defined as both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up': TCDC Chiang Mai can be described as top-down, while Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art and Creative Chiang Mai happen bottom-up. Decision-makers in the former are national, whereby the regional city-based operations are implementations of national policy programmes (and effectively involve the only relation between central and local government).

8.1.4 Neoliberalism in Chiang Mai

This thesis argues that the adoption of the Creative City discourse in Chiang Mai is a Trojan horse of neoliberalism as it facilitates what have been identified as the dilemmas of democracy itself, of disempowerment, disenfranchisement, marginalisation, and inequality. Firstly, the governance model of Chiang Mai Creative City has facilitated disempowerment and consequent lack of civil society

(independent or entrepreneurial or social-based agencies or people are awarded opportunities, resources and incentives. The creative industries and urban development funding in Chiang Mai are reserved for a limited number of specialist or stakeholder agencies, and with no shared, representative, decision-making or action that represents the whole city, ordinary people are not enfranchised in the decision-making process as discussed in the previous section. It is evident that selected members of the three organisations are on the higher social class, for example, university lecturers, business people, politicians, government officers, and so on. Many of them are not resident in the city, but that as a rapid growing secondary city, Chiang Mai is increasingly attracting aspirant social groups. Many of the creative and cultural clusters in Chiang Mai that at first seemed autonomous and evolving their own pathway in contributing to urban development — for example, Bor Sarng, Baan Tawai, and Wat Gate — have failed under a political obligation and whose role is now defined by a branding process.

Secondly, the issue of 'disenfranchisement' is undeniably present in the processes of adoption and adaptation of the Creative City discourse in Chiang Mai. The public is not directly involved in decision-making around policy implementation, and the institutional promotion of the ongoing discourse of the Creative City visibly prioritises some segments and not others. Even though the projects from the three creative city organisations seem to be for 'locals', they do not engage with specific methods of community-based interaction or urban localisation. There are no mechanisms or schemes that enable the recognition of other city groups or create active involvement in creative city activities through a process of recognition. The activities from the Chiang Mai City of Crafts and Folk Art largely cater to the need of the professional and business dimensions of the craft industry. This works out the same for the Creative Chiang Mai and TCDC where their main targets have become the prioritised group of Chiang Mai's urban development. This does not entail a demand that organisations should

provide projects without a specific target group or audience, but that the governance model of Creative City-making should support a framework for identifying and contributing to the non-creative or destructive aspects of the city – like excluded people, young people in trouble, crime or drugs. The Creative City discourse, imported from the West, could all too easily introduce social alienation into local urban life, as commented by the TCDC director, Buakeow (2017). The relation between social cohesion, lifestyle and social class need to be taken into account on some level if Creative City genuinely attends to the ‘urban culture’ at the heart of an urban economy of a city.

Thirdly, ‘marginalisation’ is inevitable in this broad approach to urban culture: both social and cultural. Socially, the Creative City discourse in Chiang Mai creates cultural elites that reproduce a national social hierarchy (which in turn reflect a common regional stratification). People involved in the making of Chiang Mai as a Creative City maintain a decision-making power specific to their professional role and gain more power through the process in determining who ‘belong’. Even when local artists are involved in sponsored city projects, they would not necessarily belong in this reproduced social hierarchy. *Nimmanhaemin*, the art cluster in Chiang Mai, is one example of marginalisation, for the area has allowed the domination of established artists and corporate business, with no mechanisms to admit lesser economically viable organisation; consequently, as a cluster it becomes a site of the higher echelons of professional, their clientele and, of course, tourists. In terms of a diversity of cultural production, there are a marginalisation of industries themselves as the Creative City discourse is used to privilege within the field of creativity certain niche areas of specialisation – not broad-based industrial development, where (a) creativity can impact all areas of a city’s industry, (b) creative labour can be a training for transferable skills and employment prospects, and (c) where labour is interconnected with training and educational institutions. In Chiang Mai, the niche industries that are promoted are the craft industry and the design

industry. Professionals who manage and run indeed cultivate these industries through the craftspeople and creative workers increasingly employed within them. However, as niche industries, their clientele and market (largely tourist retail) are 'static' or tend only to increase only through volume and profit, not qualitatively through development. Developmental schemes such as the UNESCO Creative Cities and the UNESCO World Heritage Site policy frameworks, rather, emphasise engagement with social context so as to evolve and expand and assume a participatory role in the transformation of a place in a sustainable way. The market niche approach to creative industries uses creative labour, rather, as mechanisms of commodity production, benefiting a fixed social group for static market segments. The dimension of place-based engagement and evolution through creative labour itself is absent: inequality is a predictable outcome.

8.2 Bandung and 'City Re-representation'

City 're-representation' is another central feature extrapolated from Brenner's and Theodore's (2002) criteria of neoliberal localisation. Re-representation is a discursive mechanism of neoliberal localisation, which like others, comprises moments of destruction and creation — the existing unfortunate or ineffective 'image' of a city (where, for example, actual economic realities of urban disorder both socially and economically) are emphatic, are replaced by characteristics more constructive of a new economic order and its ideologies. In Bandung, the entrepreneurial discourse has been mobilised to good effect, promoting policy rhetoric of revitalisation, reinvestment, and rejuvenation through creativity and industrial innovation.

The concept 'representation' is recently commonly deployed with critical urban analysis to identify three related processes (Castiglione, 2007). First, representation suggests the forms through which political action (or, for our purposes, policy implementation) takes place in the context of a 'principal-agent' relationship — where, for instance, a government can be said to act in the interests of its people (ibid).

Second, representation identifies the place, or places, through which political power can be exercised responsibly and with a degree of accountability, thus enabling citizens to have both a degree of influence and some control over such power (ibid). Third, representation determines how political voice can be embodied with a certain degree of equality and recognition (ibid). These three processes suggest what a city should concern in terms of the re-representation of its image to ensure the equal representation of its citizens and protect their identities in the city and that their political power is exercised with a degree of accountability.

How cities are represented or represent themselves to themselves, or others have been a matter of ongoing debate among urbanists. American professor Sharon Zukin forged a seminal line of criticism identifying how the representation of culture in cities is a powerful means of managing both cities and culture given how the latter is “a source of images and memories, it symbolises ‘who belongs’ in specific places” (Zukin, 1995, p.1). The Creative City discourse in Bandung has served in this way, with a form of the strategic brand for the city. Zukin (1995, p.2-3) further emphasised the “cultural power to create an image, to frame a vision, of the city has become more important as publics have become more mobile and diverse, and traditional institutions – both social classes and political parties – have become less relevant mechanisms of expressing identity”.

Bandung’s city ‘re-representation’ begins with the work of the Bandung Creative City Forum (and its committees), who were tasked with forming a new ‘image’ for Bandung — in Zukin’s terms, as “Those who create images stamp a collective identity” (Zukin, 1995, p.3). This was in harmony with the noted discourse of entrepreneurialism, that was disseminated by both national and municipal economic policy, whereas neoliberal localisation, a more dynamic market model was progressively adopted. Brenner and Theodore (2002) discuss a variety of now common neoliberal policy innovations, including place-

marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, urban development corporations, new forms of local 'boosterism', property-redevelopment schemes, and so on. These policies, on critical analysis, are not autonomous innovations but are calibrated within a suite of public policy measures to coherent with national and local economic policy and to effectively support the establishment of what can be identified as neoliberalism in regions undergoing urbanisation, particularly cities. Therefore, it will be taken into account as the second criterion with which we will define Bandung Creative City. This will necessitate attending to the role of (i) people in power and (ii) the role of entrepreneurial discourse itself.

8.2.1 City Re-representation and the Creative City

Our central interlocutor, Charles Landry (2000, p.72), awards a strong emphasis on the re-representation of the city in saying "Most of us agree that cities should have clear identities and a sense of community, that they should be distinctive and true to themselves". In order to make that happen, the values and norms of the cities' diverse social or cultural groups must be recognised so as to develop a culture of actual 'representation' (in the political sense) and facilitate cultural sustainability, where people in cities are continually involved and responsible for the sustenance and productivity of the city (Landry, 2000). Landry and Bianchini (1994, p.26) together strengthen this general point in the working paper 3 for creative city 'indicators' that "A strong identity has positive social impacts in that it creates the preconditions for establishing civic pride, community spirit and the necessary caring for the urban environment. A city may, however, be made up of a range of identities, sometimes rooted in different parts of the city, that express themselves in different lifestyles, and thus the tolerance alluded to earlier is a key aspect of harnessing these identities so that they contribute to overall viability and do not cause fragmentation". This emphasises the interconnection between culture and the equitable representation of diverse citizens in sustainable

cities, and where identity and distinctiveness are both important in the process of selecting for the core and peripheral culture in the tide of available information and ideas (ibid). Moreover, they can also provide a bond between people with different backgrounds and interests to cooperate for the common good of the city; however, “when identity and distinctiveness degenerate into parochialism, introversion, chauvinism and antagonism to the outside world they may destroy the foundations of a creative milieu” (Landry and Bianchini, 1994, p.27) and this could have happened in the Bandung case when the Creative City discourse was adapted.

‘Representation’ in cities for Florida is internal to his characteristic ‘3T’s’ of economic development: technology, talent, and tolerance are necessary but, according to Florida (2008a), not entirely sufficient for sustained economic growth. When discussing places the creative class choose, he asserts that “Cities have personalities, too” and that “It is all well and good to know that place affects happiness, that the happiest communities tend to be openminded, vibrant places where people feel free to express themselves and cultivate their identities, and that these communities tend to foster creativity” (Florida, 2008b, p.187). This projects the importance of a ‘positive’ representation to attract a certain group of people as he argues that creative people would choose a place in which to work and settle. This argument supports Landry’s and Bianchini’s view on the importance of identities in the making of a successful and sustainable creative city, and it can, therefore, be asserted that the aesthetics or visual “image” of a city’s work in representation must be interconnected with urban policy and the material conditions of social life.

Concerning the extent of the relationship between creativity and economics, Howkins also identifies environmental conditions, where “[Creativity] occurs whenever a person says, does or makes something that is new, either in the sense of ‘something from nothing’ or in the sense of giving a new character to something. Creativity

occurs whether or not this process leads anywhere; it is present both in the thought and in the action” (Howkins, 2001, p.ix). The relation between ideas and actions and how the agents and agency of thought and action are socially situated reinforces Landry’s and Florida’s point on the re-representation of cities as not simply strategic brand or destination marketing but as internal to urban planning.

8.2.2 City Re-representation in Bandung

Like most of the Southeast Asian cities, the development of Bandung started from agricultural activities. After 1945, Bandung was developed as an industrial area to support the growth of Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. The Master Plan of 1971 planned for Bandung to become a metropolitan centre at the regional level; at the local level, the city is divided into several functional zones and residential districts. The northern part of the city is used for administration, education and tourism-related uses; the central part with commerce, tourism and cultural uses; and the southern part with industrial uses. Later on, the new Master Plan 1985 includes three levels of planning, which are the city, district, and technical level. In 1999, the municipal government of Bandung established a strategic vision for the city under the slogan ‘Greater Bandung 2020: Friendly and Smart’. In this policy rhetoric, the semantics of ‘friendly’ refers to ‘well-organised, safe, quiet, religious, clean, healthy, fresh, agro-based, interesting, natural, humanised, harmonic and prosperous,’ while ‘smart’ refers to being ‘dynamic, efficient, productive, creative and innovative’. From this basic characterisation of urban policy rhetoric, it is obvious that the municipal government defines the new image of Bandung’s in term of urban planning outcomes, albeit broad characteristics of an urban utopia.

The leading organisation for the creative city-building in Bandung is the Bandung Creative City Forum, established in 2008. Prior to that, the British Council had played an essential role in establishing

entrepreneurial discourses in the city by introducing programmes such as the Indonesia Young Creative Entrepreneur (IYCE) and the Creative Entrepreneur Network (CEN). One of the awarded winners of the 2007 competition was Ridwan Kamil who later formed the Bandung Creative City Forum and was also elected as a mayor in 2013 and ran for governor in 2018, instead of seeking a second mayoral term. The influence of the British Council in the city of Bandung has set a trend of entrepreneurial discourses in the city. It became clearer with the establishment of Bandung in supporting this trend as the goals of the Bandung Creative City Forum are (i) promoting creativity, (ii) assisting in planning the improvements in city infrastructure as a means of supporting the development of the creative economy, and (iii) creating more creative entrepreneurs and communities. This has allegedly stamped the image for Bandung as urban projects and activities are done to support the goals of the organisation. When Ridwan stepped up as a mayor of the city, he gave an interview that he recognised the importance of the communities and he had tried to involve these communities in urban activities; however, the question remains, in Sharon Zukin's terms, "Whose culture? Whose city?" (Zukin, 1995, p.1).

Looking at the branding for the city of Bandung under the brand .bdg suggests the direction of the city re-representation. Brand .bdg emphasises on Bandung's three central potentials: people, place and idea (as the Bandung Creative City Forum argues that people and ideas offer social innovation and economic values). Place and ideas offer active and entrepreneurial communities, and place and people offer a built environment with business potential (Larasati, 2014). Entrepreneurial discourses have been injected to the city's brand; hence, the branding of Bandung under the Bandung Creative City Forum spreads the implication of individualism under the neoliberal ideology. This part has discussed the re-representation of the city from the city branding of the Bandung Creative City Forum. The next part

will analyse emerging problems that happen from the re-representation process in Bandung.

8.2.3 What Happened in Bandung?

When analysing the re-representation issue in the urban reality of Bandung, two main political issues emerge (i) people in power and (ii) the socio-political implications of the discourse of entrepreneurialism. To begin with, the establishment of the Bandung Creative City Forum happened with 50 independent members from across the creative industries' spectrum — the arts, clothing, fashion, music, urbanists, archivists, solicitors, engineers and many more (see Chapter 5: section 5.3). On the face of it, this allowed for the representation and recognition of the spectrum of communities of arts and culture in the city. However, the tacit branding of Bandung through an alliance of all the institutional and official representatives of culture and creative industries is not necessarily as democratic as it seems: this small, select and quite specific professional grouping has created a tendency towards certain representations of value and social life. The development of Bandung's urban culture through urban development programmes like Simpul Institute, Bandung Creative Centre, Helarfest, Creative Entrepreneur Network, Kampung Kreatif, and the brand .bdg, has suggested that the core values of Bandung's cultural life are the values of those who belong to its institution-based and recognised discourses. Thus, according to our first criterion of analysis, there is an uneven representation of culture and the arts in the city, as people (professionals) with specific forms of institutional power are the central agents of creating a new image for Bandung, inevitably favouring their own groups; as Colomb (2012) explains, the transformation of cultural consumption practices involve "the possession of 'subcultural capital' signalises status in the form of 'hipness'" (Colomb, 2012, p.142). This has triggered a constant renegotiation and exclusion of the boundaries of legitimate culture to

include new, previously illegitimate art and cultural forms (like street art and graffiti)” (Thornton, 1997).

Our second criterion concerns the discourse of entrepreneurship in the city — discourses as they are powerfully presented in Bandung in both ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ branding. The Bandung Creative City Forum itself acts as a soft branding for Bandung as the network focuses on the creative industries. Projects like the Creative Entrepreneur Network and the brand .bdg also reinforce the entrepreneurial discourses in the city. The use of ‘brand’, while now a predictable and accepted practice for cities and leisure resorts, nonetheless structures the urban expanse of the city as a single entity often commodified according to external market expectations, or internal economic aspirations. A city all too easily restructures a communication strategy that speaks on behalf of economic actors in a city and not the city’s citizenry itself — de facto treating its citizens as customers or even visitors. In terms of ‘hard’ branding, many projects in the city have supported the entrepreneurial discourses, including Simpul Institute, Bandung Creative Centre, and Kampung Kreatif. These spaces offer benefits for the artist community and people in the creative industries. In 2017, the Bandung Creative Centre was opened by the lead of Ridwan Kamil and the Bandung City Government. The building is located in the central area of the city, and it costs approximately RP 50 billion or 2.5 million pounds. Zukin (1995) argues, in the case of ‘hard’ branding, that the prioritisation of investment and choice are focused on particular aspects that may deliver the most income using a whole population’s taxes. This presents an issue on taxation when the poor pay most and receive least in return. Another hard branding strategy is the Kampung Kreatif or ‘creative village’ where villages in Bandung are branded under the entrepreneurial discourse. These villages have been turned into commodities aiming at cultural tourists as Peck (2005, p.745) argues that “creatives want edgy cities, edge cities”. Thus, when the Creative City approach was adopted, this mentality was automatically applied

to the urban development plan. To conclude this section, the two criteria show that Bandung is at risk of facing neoliberalism.

8.2.4 Neoliberalism in Bandung

What happened in Bandung has suggested the neoliberal consequences that have occurred and could be presented in the city later as an effect of the way the city re-represents itself. These include the issues of gentrification, discrimination and hegemony. Gentrification is a common issue that happens typically along with the process of urban regeneration. It can be broadly defined as a socio-economic process accompanying any land use change from low to relatively high functional value (Hudalah et al., 2016). The early literature suggests the replacement of indigenous and working-class people by those of considerably higher socio-economic status (Glass, 1964). Later on, the concept has developed to include the process of reinvestment of space neglected by the market to generate profit (Clark, 2005), which, then, suggests the physical and symbolic types of gentrification. The Kampung Kreatif project is a clear example for both the physical and symbolic gentrification in Bandung. Villages around the city have been turned into a place for tourists. This shows that gentrification symbolically limited class-based community in their spaces and under the control of the superior class as this concerned with the capitalist accumulation of wealth manifested in the market or middle-class-driven urban land transformation and its social implications in the form of marginalisation. One of the creative villages, Dago Pojok, has gone through the process by adopting the wall paintings project that has resulted in the attraction of visitors that enjoy the 'painted slum' as a tourist attraction. This increases the gap between the locals, city authorities, and people benefited from the creative city discourse. Moreover, there are more examples regarding the physical gentrification process in Bandung which suggests the uneven geographical development of the city, for example, areas around the Bandung Creative Centre have been rebuilt for the creative

class. This also happens around the streets surrounding universities' campuses in Bandung, for instance, Ganesha, Tamansari and Dipati Ukur. The streets have changed significantly with the emergence of creative-based businesses.

The discrimination issue happens along the process of hard branding in the city of Bandung. According to Evans (2001, 2003), the hard branding strategy creates cultural icons that are generally acknowledged to attract decision-makers and cultural tourists to cities. On the surface they appear a 'win-win' solution as they offer a more beautiful, safer and cleaner city; however, the resources are generally focused on particular versions of the city and are targeted at including and making a version of a city for the few rather than the many (Pratt, 2011). In addition, this discriminates people outside of the circle and creates a sense of 'otherness'. This process deals with selective storytelling that only a limited number of optimistic voices, images and representations will conflate in urban branding materials. The bigger problem is when the crisis of cities become a taboo that is avoided mentioning in urban planning (Vanolo, 2015). Despite the initial initiative of solving urban problems, what the creative city discourse could end up doing is going to the opposite direction of hiding the real crisis in the city, and when left untaken care for a long time, this could become a bigger problem. In Bandung, the issues of crime and poverty were presented, and it was a starting point that the Bandung Creative City Forum saw and that they decided to use the Creative City discourse to help to fix these problems; however, when established, the goals of the organisation have been shifted slightly to fit more with economic benefits that the Creative City discourse could offer. The crime rate and poverty issues have not been mentioned by the group and city authorities since then. It was hidden under the new branding and hidden even more effectively with the hard branding of the Bandung Creative Centre as a centre of attention for the newcomers, and the problem with such approach is that it is essentially consumption hubs and for this reason, is unsustainable.

The problems of gentrification and discrimination create a further problem of hegemony in Bandung. Evans (2003, p.417) argues that cultural flagships have created a form of “*Karaoke* architecture where it is not important how well you can sing, but that you can do it with verve and gusto”. Thus, ‘*Karaoke* architecture’ would be more or less the same in these cities. Eye-catching buildings and the development of around the area, as well as the influx of chain stores, occur in many cities around the world, including Bandung. The example could be seen from Kampung Braga, a village in Bandung where the local government decided to work with private developer and investor to renovate the area to be more attractive for visitors and Bandung’s people. The indigenous people of Braga community, however, face the problem from the building of new apartments as these high-rise buildings cover their houses from sunlight and there was no representative from neither the government nor the developer that willing to make a dialogue with the community (Mirza, 2010). These new high-rise buildings have been a phenomenon that happens in many other places where the regeneration takes place, which has led to a homogenous architecture and structural economic adjustment policies. Funding has been diverted into rural development, like in the case of Kampung Braga, and this could be through crafts, heritage or tourism-based projects (Evans and Foord, 1999). In addition, Bandung has been awarded a UNESCO Creative City of Design in 2015. This has also been widely debated by scholars (Pratt, 2011; Rosi, 2014) that the UNESCO Creative Cities Network membership has the tendency to work jointly with the cities in the network effectively; however, there is a possibility that this title would be used just only as a branding tool to attract investors and tourists. Rosi (2014) argues that the tendency to use the membership as an ideal branding tool has been so far extreme within the network. This could finally lead to the hegemonic branding of cities, presenting themselves as a commodity under the neoliberal ideology. This section concludes that the re-representing of the city of Bandung seems to fall under a trap of neoliberalism unintentionally.

8.3 Cebu and ‘Interlocal Policy Transfer’

8.3.1 Interlocal Policy Transfer and the Creative City

Neoliberal localisation (Brenner and Theodore's, 2002) identifies the issue of policy mobility. This is internal to inter-local policy transfer mechanisms in Cebu, which include moments of destruction in terms of the erosion of contextually sensitive approaches to local policymaking, and the marginalisation of ‘home-grown’ solutions to localised market failures and governance failures; it involves moments of creation, with the diffusion of generic, prototypical approaches to ‘modernising’ reform among policymakers in search of quick fixes for local social problems (e.g. welfare-to-work programmes, place-marketing strategies, zero-tolerance crime policies, etc.) — it involves an imposition of decontextualised ‘best practice’ models upon local policy environments. These moments of destruction and creation could, then, be drawn as criteria to analyse the process of neoliberalisation in Cebu. These moments will be grouped into two main criteria: (i) the discarding of contextual and evidence-based local policymaking and (ii) the emergence of the ‘best practice’ model (so well publicised by UK public policymakers).

There is a rich literature on ‘policy transfer’ and the rise of policy mobility. In conventional political-science, the understandings of ‘policy transfer’ typically hypothesise an “existence of a relatively unstructured policy market within which producer-innovators and consumer-emulators engage in freely-chosen transactions, adopting policy products that maximise reform goals” (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.169). In terms of border-crossing policies, the orthodox literature is predominantly concerned with *ex post facto* evaluations of ‘successful’ transfers, which are typically judged according to “surface similarities in policy designs, scripts, and rationales” (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.169). Policymakers are maximisers in rational-choice presumptions in this orthodox literature and that there is a

tendency for sound policies to drive out bad, in the process of optimising diffusion (ibid).

In contrast to the orthodox literature, the new generation of critical policy studies is more inclined to adopt sociological, anthropological or institutional frames to help with the analysis. Peck and Theodore (2010) discuss this in five main points. First, “policy formation and transformation are seen as a (socially) constructed processes, as fields of power” (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.169). Policy transfer here plays a role more than just a process of transmitting best practices, but it is also seen as a field of adaptive connections that is structured by abiding power relations and shifting ideological alignments (ibid). Second, “policy actors are not conceptualised as lone learners, but as embodied members of epistemic, expert, and practice communities” (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.170). These policymakers are complex actors whose identities linked to organisational and political fields. Third, “mobile policies rarely travel as complete ‘packages,’ they move in bits and pieces – as selective discourses, inchoate ideas, and synthesised models – and they, therefore ‘arrive’ not as replicas but as policies already-in-transformation” (ibid). There is a constant process of ‘making up’ policies in this environment of increased mobility as expertise is insourced from think tanks and consultancies, and so on. Fourth, “the resulting dynamic in the policymaking process is not one of simple emulation and linear *replication* across policymaking sites, but a more complex process of nonlinear *reproduction*” (ibid). Policies will, therefore, mutate and change during their journeys. Moreover, fifth, “the spatiality of policymaking is not flattened into some almost-featureless and inert plane or transaction space, marked only with jurisdictional boundaries, across which transfers occur, but in terms of a three-dimensional mosaic of increasingly reflexive forms of governance, shaped by multi-directional forms of cross-scalar and interlocal policy mobility” (ibid). Hence, policies are not merely transiting, but evolving through mobility, while at the same time

(re)making relational connections between policymaking sites. New forms of uneven spatial development and new localisations are continually being produced under such conditions (ibid).

Contrary to the orthodox literature on policy transfer, critical policy studies see policy transfer not as transit and transaction, but mobility and mutation (Peck and Theodore, 2010). Policies are not seen to be packaged for their journeys, they are mobilised and remaking the landscape they travel instead of just travelling across, and they are contributing to the interpenetration of distant policymaking sites. “In this sense, fields of policy mobility are themselves socially and institutionally constructed” (ibid, p.170).

Peck and Theodore’s five observation points can help to explain the neoliberal localisation of the Creative City discourse in conjunction with Brenner and Theodore’s mechanisms of neoliberal localisation in the last few decades. The formation of the Creative City approach is a socially constructed process and is related to power as policymakers are linked with organisational and political fields. In addition, even though it seems like the Creative City approach is a policy package, it travels to new landscapes as selective discourses. Cities only take what works, or rather, benefits them for their cities or as Peck and Theodore (2010) discuss that it is a constant process of ‘making up’ policies, and under such condition that the Creative City discourse has created uneven spatial development.

Relevant to this, scholars (Larner and Laurie, 2010; McCann and Ward, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2010) have discussed how practical programming knowledge and street-level expertise, like the Creative City approach, have assumed more considerable significance in policymaking processes. First, multilateral agencies, like the World Bank, are paying increased attention to practitioner expertise by enabling new forms of networking among ‘middle managers’. Second, there are new arenas for policy exchange, such as international

conferences and consultancies. Third, the ideological emphasis on 'what works', as implied in Third Way discourse and post-financial crisis pragmatism, makes practical experience symbolically privileged than theoretical knowledge. Finally, "a deepening reliance on technocratic forms of policy development and delivery is a widely observed feature of late-neoliberalism" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.172). This explains why a practical 'toolkit' like the Creative City has gone viral in the last few decades.

In this part, Cebu will be scrutinised on the issue of policy mobility by considering two main criteria of (i) the discarding of contextual and evidence-based local policymaking, and (ii) the emergence of the 'best practice' model. Starting from the theoretical debate on the Creative City discourse and the issue of policy mobility, arguments from Landry (2000), Florida (2002), and Howkins (2001) will be examined, followed by Cebu's policy transfer process, its urban realities, and the consequences.

8.3.2 Theoretical Discussion

In the second edition of Landry's *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (2008), he recognises the becoming of the Creative City discourse as a 'catch-all phrase' that many cities adopt without considering their assets and resources. According to Landry and Bianchini's (1995, p.5) pioneer work on the Creative City, many theorists, like Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford or Jane Jacobs, have offered solutions for cities by emphasising not only how a city might be shaped physically but also what could improve the lived experience of cities for people. Landry and Bianchini (1995) acknowledge the importance of the subtle psychological effects on people from urban solutions based on these theorists; however, they point out that the focus on the physical has gone far where emerging planning profession interprets these urban theories mainly in physical terms. The kinds of innovative milieu that supposed to encourage people to

interact and participate might end up separating people. Landry and Bianchini (1995) argue that it depends on the capacity to build partnerships by bringing institutions like universities together with local firms to develop new creative environment for the cities as they claim that crime will be solved less by physical control and more by establishing a sense of place and mutual responsibilities in communities and neighbourhoods. Moreover, Landry and Bianchini (1995) add on the importance of 'soft' infrastructures to make people connect and feel like they 'own' where they live. Failing to do so, new problems, like division, fear and alienation, dissatisfaction with the physical environment, minimal mobility for 'others', and the diminishing sense of locality, will emerge (Landry and Bianchini, 1995, p.7-8). Despite their intention to truly develop more sustainable environments for the people, the Creative City approach has been turned into just one of the 'fast policy' (Peck, 2005).

Florida (2012) argues that to build the genuinely creative urban community – one with real quality of place and can survive and prosper in this still-emerging new city-based economic order, a 'people climate' is an essential aspect. Florida (2012, p.305) refers to the people climate as a general strategy that aims at attracting people, as well as retaining people, especially, but not limited to, creative people. He criticises that "It makes no sense to use precious public funds to lure companies from state to state or even across national borders: research shows those efforts typically cost more than they are worth" (Florida, 2012, p.304). Like Landry and Bianchini (1995), Florida (2002, 2012) suggests the use of university as a creative hub as he uses his 3T's to support that universities are centres for research in 'technology'. They are also magnets for 'talents', and universities foster an open and 'tolerant' people climate. In this sense, Florida (2012) stresses the importance of people, and he argues that there is no one-size-fits-all model for a successful people climate; however, his creative class thesis still comes with such attempts to harness a form of creativity that comes from buzzing and trendy neighbourhoods, and

this kind of place is where it could attract the people climate – “a place where outsiders can quickly become insiders” (Florida, 2002, p.227). Therefore, despite the fact that Florida (2002, 2012) argues that there is no one-size-fits-all model to obtain the people climate, his explanation of a ‘suitable’ place is kind of suggesting that and in a way encouraging an inter-local policy transfer of the direct replication of the creative city script or as Pratt (2009) terms a ‘Xerox’ policymaking. In 2017, Florida’s new book *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do about It* admits the problems that actually happen after almost two decades of the travelling of the creative class and creative city discourses, which are similar to what Landry and Bianchini (1995) predict. These urban crises include winner-take-all urbanism, city of elites, gentrification, inequality in cities, and so on.

Well over a decade ago, Howkins (2001) discussed that creativity needs to be fully recognised as a ‘creative capital’ as it results from investment and it is a substantial component of human capital and intellectual capital. He argues “Creative capital gains most when it is managed and made *purposive*. It flourishes best in small, flexible structures, which allow for the prevalence of full-time thinkers, the network office and the just-in-time worker. It needs rights management: to know when ideas can or should be turned into the property; the most cost-effective means of doing so; and the best way to exploit those rights” (Howkins (2001, p.219). This implies that the idea of creative capital as an important asset for the creative economy and the creative city needs flexibility and contextual spaces when it is applied or used in an urban reality. Howkins (2001, p.220) emphasises that the raw material of the creative economy is the human talent of having new and original ideas that can be turned into economic capital and products, and that “The most valuable currency is not money but ideas and intellectual property, which are intangible and highly mobile. The management of creativity puts a premium on entrepreneurial, just-in-time, temporary, ad hoc working. It is driven more by education than

by technology. Investments in education, research and *thinking* increase creativity's value and effectiveness as surely as do investments in other capital assets increase theirs" (Howkins, 2001, p.220). Besides, he adds, "A society that stifles or misuses its creative resources, and signs up to the wrong property contract, cannot prosper. However, if we understand and manage this new creative economy, individuals will profit, and society will be rewarded" (Howkins, 2001, p.220). This argument is commensurate with Peck and Theodore's (2010) assertion on policy mobility of how policies, as an exemplar, the Creative City approach could be conceptualised as a policy package or even worse, the 'making up' policy. What is required, however, is place-based policy, where culture is addressed as internal to the specific spectrum of interrelated social and economic conditions in a city, and the use of evidence-based local policymaking should be one of a range of policy approaches used to represent the social and material dimensions of life in the city (the lives of its citizens) and not an internationally emergent 'best practice' model.

8.3.3 Interlocal Policy Transfer in Cebu

In the Philippines, the development of creative discourses happened quite intensively at the national level. The creative economy has become the main focus of the Philippine government after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. The central government Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) is the agency tasked with developing the Philippines' creative economy. The increased engagement of international partners, like ASEAN and the British Council, and consultancies — specifically John Howkins and the Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy — played a significant role in the process of policy transfer and policy mobility in the Philippines. The interagency consultations programme is led by Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy. This programme involves many government agencies that play important roles in the planning process and development process of the creative industries in the Philippines. These

government agencies are, namely, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), the Design Centre of the Philippines (DCP), Intellectual Property Office Philippines (IPOPHIL), Department of Finance (DOF), National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), National Museum of the Philippines and Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF), and other government representatives. It can be seen that these agencies are the actors in power of policymaking and making changes in Philippine society. As Peck and Theodore (2010) argue, think tanks and consultancies now are perceived as credible sources as practices and stories from other places are seen as valid sources. What is at risk is the 'making up' of policies to fit with what seems to only be short-term benefits.

The involvement of the British Council in the development of the creative industries and creative city in the Philippines and Cebu is increasingly engaged. It offers creative enterprise training, interagency consultations on Philippine creative industries, the report on the creative hubs in the Philippines, and the ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition. With all these programmes, plans and strategies offered, the creative and entrepreneurship discourses were injected into Philippine and Cebu urban economic realities. This can be seen from the creative enterprise training where the British Council is partnered with an innovative agency, Nesta, to offer training programmes in Manila and Cebu by hoping that these programmes will be able to be 'replicated' in other cities across the country. Moreover, at the ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and Exhibition in Manila in April 2017, the British Council helped with the preparation of the forum and exhibition by giving workshops and talks from UK 'experts.' It is easy to be captured by the shiny side of the creative boosters as Andy Pratt argues "Who would not want their city to be scientifically ranked as the 'coolest' on earth: the most creative city? It makes the residents feel good, politicians feel even better, and makes outsiders envious: so much so that they might even visit" (Pratt, 2008, p.5).

What provoked the Creative City discourse in Cebu was the recognition of Cebu by the British Council as a Creative Capital of the Philippines in 2008, the occasion of which allowed the establishment of the Creative Cebu Council in 2009. The Creative Cebu Council sought to advocate creative entrepreneurship in Cebu and to develop Cebu as a creative entrepreneurship hub in the region. Here, the Creative City approach is perceived as the 'best practice' model, taking for granted the local home-grown solutions to the urban issues in Cebu. The urban reality of Cebu shows that the dominant group of people has the power to select things to apply to the city. Therefore, the Creative City idea does not happen from and within the people. The development of Cebu as a creative city geared towards niche groups such as artists, creative entrepreneurs, and investors, as these were obvious and most strategically effective. This was possibly one of the factors that the Creative Cebu Council did not last but closed in 2016 on account of its lack of effectiveness.

Another organisation that plays a part in the urban scene of Cebu is '*Create Cebu*', interested in urban revitalisation and reclamation through art and collaboration. Its vision is to strengthen the Cebuano creative identity by building a more liveable Cebu where Cebuano history, identity, and culture of creation and open expression thrive and are visibly alive in the city (Create Cebu, 2014). These two different organisations work on the creative city scene in Cebu; however, it is undeniable that the inter-local policy transfer of the Creative City in Cebu is ignoring the evidence-based local policymaking by just jumping into the sugar-coated discourses.

Apart from these local agencies in Cebu, the national agency like the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) plays a part in the making of the creative city. The DTI Cebu primarily works towards global competitiveness and industry cluster management in the city. It can be seen that international, national and local agencies bombard Cebu with the 'best practice' model of the Creative City and the

entrepreneurial discourse, and they have discarded the contextual and evidence-based local policymaking and solutions. Therefore, these urban realities fit the two criteria – (1) the discarding of contextual and evidence-based local policymaking and (2) the emergence of the ‘best practice’ model – that suggest the neoliberal localisation process in Cebu.

8.3.4 Neoliberalism in Cebu

The consequences of the Creative City discourse in Cebu can be seen as two main issues: a zero-sum competition and the diminishing sense of community. In response to the deindustrialisation in cities in the 1980s, Harvey (1989) calls attention to the rise of ‘entrepreneurial’ urban strategies that have been normalised in the urban development discourse. Confronted by minimal options, cities threw themselves into a series of zero-sum competitions for mobile public and private investments (Peck, 2005). The phenomenon of this interurban competition was not only to attract jobs and mobile corporations but also to place cities in the spatial division of consumption (ibid), risking a chance of a zero-sum game in the urban landscape. Instead of the promising usage of art and culture in the truly developed urban economy, creativity strategies do the opposite (Peck, 2005). The strategies commodify the arts and cultural resources as economic assets, enabling the formation of new governance structures and local political channels, and enable the script of urban competitiveness to be performed in eye-catching ways (ibid). Florida (2017), later, recognises the problems’ winner-take-all urbanism’ and ‘city of elites’ in his new book as the urban crisis. Peck (2005, p.764) criticises that “Creative-city strategies are predicated on, and designed for, this neoliberalised terrain. Repackaging urban cultural artifacts as competitive assets, they value them (literally) not for their own sake, but in terms of their (supposed) economic utility”, and most of the time, this process is led by a circulating class of gentrifiers, “whose lack of

commitment to place and whose weak community ties are perversely celebrated”.

The arguments above present the urban issues in Cebu more vividly. The ‘fast urban policy’ (Peck, 2005), directed from the government and influenced by multilateral agencies, like the British Council, makes the city of Cebu faced with an unintentional interurban competition, resulting in the wider gap of the rich and the poor, a property-led development dominated by production of high-end residential real estate commodities, the rise of a speculative land market, and a highly regressive spatial allocation in the secondary metropolis of the developing country. For example, in 2011, the newly established Metro Cebu Development Coordinating Board (MCDCCB) along with its allied private sector groups launched the ambitious Mega Cebu Project, a 30-year master plan for building a globally-competitive mega-region. Since the ‘Ceboom’ phenomenon in the 1990s, investment-oriented development has transformed Cebu City’s urban space and expanded its development tendrils into surrounding areas. Not only physically, but the coming of these market-driven developments has also changed the political and economic logic of Cebu’s urban trajectories (Ortega, 2012) “in the name of pushing Cebu forward in the international map” (Mozo, 2012). These ‘fast’ urban policies, including the adopted Creative City approach, reveal the lack of a link between these flagship projects and the people of the Cebu city, leading to the issue of ‘social trap,’ where a group of people is more interested in their own short-term individual gains and that they could be ignoring the long-term interests of the rest of the people in the society.

Following the problem of social trap from the zero-sum competition, the diminishing sense of community is an upcoming urban issue in Cebu. Harvey (1989, p.9) argues that “Above all, the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live or visit, to play and consume in” as art, culture and creative activities have been increasingly viewed as ‘symbols of a dynamic community’. The lure

illusion of a dynamic community is what makes creative strategies dangerous as it is portrayed as a shiny picture to cover the negative impacts that could happen, in this case – the diminishing sense of community. Sense of community has long been a concept of central importance in psychological and sociological theories about the impacts of living in an urban society. McMillan and Chavis (1986, p.9) define a sense of community as “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to being together”. Moreover, a sense of community is related to positive social outcomes, such as increased neighbouring and community participation (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990; Unger and Wandersman, 1982, 1985). In addition, the effects of urbanisation really reflected ‘drift’ and self-selection of low-status groups into inner-city areas (Gans, 1962, 1967; Hawley, 1972; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). This reflects in the case of Cebu when the national government encourages the global competitiveness narratives in the city. Local identities are put aside. The establishment of creative agencies in Cebu, the Creative Cebu Council and the *Create Cebu*, also only aims at particular groups of people, usually people involved in the creative industries and some niche groups of people in Cebu. Therefore, the sense of community, where people feel belonged and want to participate in making their communities a better place to live in, has weakened.

In conclusion, the Creative City discourse in Cebu led to the process of neoliberal localisation as analysed by the two criteria: (1) the discarding of contextual and evidence-based local policymaking and (2) the emergence of the ‘best practice’ model. The analysis shows that a zero-sum competition has happened in the city of Cebu regarding the housing market and the usage of space for certain groups of people in the society, especially the creative class, where the goal of being a globally-competitive city is presented. This also leads to the diminishing sense of community that happened from the

process of urbanisation both in the physical urban form and in social and political logic. Thus, the Creative City discourse in Cebu is a Trojan horse of Western neoliberalism in Cebu.

8.4 George Town and ‘Social Inclusion’

8.4.1 Gentrification and the Creative City

The last section in this chapter is the case of George Town in Penang, Malaysia. According to Brenner and Theodore’s (2002) criteria of neoliberal localisation, the most apparent mechanism in George Town is the transformations of the built environment and urban form (as widely discussed in urban literature, gentrification). This mechanism consists of moments of destruction — the “elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces, destruction of traditional working-class neighbourhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment, retreat from community-oriented planning initiatives”; the moments of creation were arguably the “creation of new privatised spaces of elite/corporate consumption, construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns, creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other ‘purified’ spaces of social reproduction, ‘rolling forward’ of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of socio-spatial polarisation, adoption of the principle of ‘highest and best use’ as the basis for major land-use planning decisions” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.371). These moments can be concluded as a process of gentrification. Ley makes a link between the Creative City discourse and gentrification as he argues “There has been movement from festivals to festival markets, from cultural production to cultural economies, to an intensified economic colonisation of the cultural realm, to the representation of the creative city not as a means of redemption but as a means of economic accumulation” (Ley, 2003, p.2542)

Gentrification as a range of urbanisation processes was firstly defined in the 1960s by sociologist Ruth Glass, explaining London's urban landscape that the working-class quarters had been replaced by the lower- and upper-middle-class (Glass, 1964). Cottages and Victorian houses had been upgraded to fit the needs of the middle classes. Glass (1964, p.xviii) argues that once the process of gentrification started in a district, it spreads rapidly "until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed". Thirty-five years later in London, the 1999 decree for 'Urban Renaissance', released by a special Urban Task Force appointed by the UK Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, still echoed what Glass had captured then. In the context of North America and Europe, gentrification can be classified into three waves (Hackworth, 2000).

The first wave is in the 1950s and can be thought of as sporadic gentrification. The second wave happened in the 1970s and 1980s when gentrification became entwined with wider processes of urban and economic restructuring and was labelled the 'anchoring phase' of gentrification (Hackworth, 2000). The third wave of gentrification emerged in the 1990s and could be seen as the generalisation of gentrification (ibid). Unlike the first and second wave of gentrification, "Third-wave gentrification has evolved into a vehicle for transforming whole areas into new landscape complexes that pioneer a comprehensive class-inflected urban remake. These new landscape complexes now integrate housing with shopping, restaurants, cultural facilities, open space, employment opportunities – whole new complexes of recreation, consumption, production, and pleasure, as well as residence" (Smith, 2002, p.443). The generalisation of gentrification has various dimensions and has evolved into a crucial urban strategy for city governments around the world, mostly under the 'urban regeneration' discourse (Smith, 2002). "Enveloped as regeneration, gentrification is thus recast as a positive and necessary environmental strategy" (Smith, 2002, p.445). The debate for and

against gentrification has regularly divided the opinions of policymakers and researchers. Positive and negative impacts of gentrification have been discussed widely by them. The positive impacts include stabilisation of declining areas, increased property values, reduced vacancy rates, increased local fiscal revenues, encouragement and increased viability of further development, reduction of suburban sprawl, increased social mix, decreased crime, and rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship (Atkinson, 2004, p.112). There are also costs of gentrification, including community resentment and conflict, loss of affordable housing, unsustainable speculative property price increases, homelessness, greater draw on local spending through lobbying by middle-class groups, commercial/ industrial displacement, increased cost and changes to local services, loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to affluent ghettos), increased crime, under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas, displacement through rent/ price increases, displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas, and secondary psychological costs of displacement (Atkinson, 2004, p.112). In the long run, the negative impacts, however, seem to weigh out the positive ones. In this section, the impacts of gentrification in George Town will be discussed later on confirming that gentrification as a global urban strategy is a consummate expression of neoliberal urbanism.

The criteria to analyse George Town in this section derive from Brenner and Theodore's table of neoliberal localisation and the literature on gentrification. The obvious way of gentrification is the transformations of the built environment and urban form, and that will be the first criterion. The second criterion to detect the work of neoliberalism in George Town is to look at the regeneration projects in the city as, according to Smith (2002), most of the regeneration projects have the hidden process of gentrification. In the case of George Town, there are many actors, both national and local, and projects that deal with the urban change of the city, and the Creative

City is one of them. In this section, projects from Think City, the main actor on adopting the Creative City discourse, and projects from both state and federal government will be used to analyse using the two criteria introduced above.

8.4.2 Theoretical Discussion

Landry's Creative City approach emphasises the importance of developing a creative milieu for the creative urban transformations. According to Landry (2008, p.133), "A creative milieu is a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. Such a milieu is a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success". In this sense, Landry suggests that a creative city should have space where people can interact to create new ideas that would eventually contribute to the economic benefits of the city.

Landry's notion of the creative milieu is easily transformed to fit with the gentrification process considering the nature of the milieu and the lifestyle of upper and middle classes. These places could be café, clubs, bars, co-working space, and so on. Despite the fact that Landry (2008) emphasises on the necessity of the 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructure, as discussed in the literature review chapter, and discusses the qualities of a creative milieu, and he lists several points, for example, a level of original and in-depth knowledge and an environment catering for diversity and variety, to ensure the effectiveness of a creative milieu for the actual development of creativity in that space, many cities only pick up a physical urban form or a 'hard' infrastructure and ignoring the 'soft' infrastructure in hoping

that the hard infrastructure would eventually give the creative vibe to the space as Landry (2008) points out that the soft infrastructure has to do with connections, values, networks, conditions, and attitudes. These, quite imprecise terms, have made the Creative City discourse a tool for the process of gentrification and neoliberalism.

For Florida, it is undeniable that his argument on the 3T's that will attract the creative class has a high potential of encouraging the process of gentrification. Back in the early 20s, the modern myths about cities are that geography is dead due to the internet and modern telecommunication (Florida, 2005a). Florida (2005a) argues against the myths using examples of cities like Austin and New York City to confirm the aliveness of cities by mentioning clusters, the positive benefits of co-location or the 'spillovers' and so on. He then asks the question "Why do creative people cluster in certain places? In a world where people are highly mobile, why do they choose some cities over others and for what reasons?" The answer to this is his popular theory of the 3T's of economic growth. Florida (2005a) believes that the creative class is the driving force of the new economy, and in order to attract them, there are certain characteristics of the place that would appeal to them, and they are his 3T's of economic development: Technology, Talent, and Tolerance. To captivate the creative people, the city needs to have all three factors, and Florida (2005a, p.37) defines 'tolerance' as "openness, inclusiveness, and diversity to all ethnicities, races, and walks of life, 'talent' as "those with a bachelor's degree or above", and 'technology' as "a function of both innovation and high technology concentrations in a region". Similar to Landry's notion of the creative milieu that these two approaches tend to offer policymakers promises of urban utopia where places are full of people's interactions and, even better, would benefit the economic growth of the city as well. Thus, Florida's 3T's has become a tool for urban regeneration with the hidden process of gentrification.

In his chapter 'managing creativity', Howkins (2001) discusses ten creative management principles or levers that affect the creative process. These are creative people, the job of thinker, the creative entrepreneur, the post-employment job, the just-in-time person, the temporary company, the network office and the business cluster, teamwork, finance, and deals and hits (Howkins, 2001). To explore the possibility of gentrification, the network office and the business cluster will be examined. Howkins (2001) discusses the importance of the network office where people need quiet spaces to think and network connections to do. Harlan Cleveland (cited in Howkins, 2001, p.146), American Ambassador to NATO and President of the University of Hawaii, said that the creative office is built "more around communities of people than communities of place", and people need network spaces for socialising. In addition, Victoria Ward (cited in Howkins, 2001, p.146), one of the founders of Spark Team who helps young internet companies to get started, states that "they [communities of people] need areas for 'forced serendipity' ('encouraged' or 'enabling' might be more welcoming), spaces that provide 'knowledge shelters', and spaces where two people can meet on neutral ground ('third spaces')", and this can even extend outside the physical location of a workplace where people blur the line between home and work.

Besides, Howkins (2001, p.148) argues that "Clusters, 'where the mysteries become no mysteries', provide mutual support psychologically, financially and technically... Any inputs from outside the cluster are quickly disseminated, and internal knowledge and skills do not leak out. Clusters can lead to a high rate of synergy, the positive interchange of complementary resources that creates a result that is more than the sum of its parts". There are, however, different types of creative occupations and works. Howkins (2001) gives examples of writers, artists, and composers that need to work on their own much of the time. Therefore, managing isolation and managing networks are equally important. Again, Howkins' suggestion on network office and cluster could give the wrong idea to policymakers that physical

buildings are needed and are the essential factor to create the creative dynamic. All in all, it can be seen that the Creative City discourse from the three theorists can be misinterpreted and used as a tool to encourages the emergence of the process of gentrification and neoliberalism in cities.

8.4.3 George Town's Urban Reality

Penang and its capital, George Town, have played a vital role in the Malaysian economy since the 1950s as a 'free port' in Malaysia. After losing its status in 1969, Penang held the first free trade zone (FTZ) in Malaysia, and from the 1970s onwards, there was emerging of the new economic era of manufacturing and industrial sector. From then, Penang has evolved into one of the largest global electronics manufacturing hubs and has been one of the world's most successful stories of rapid industrialisation. From 2002, the Malaysian Government introduces the MM2H (Malaysia My Second Home) programme that allows foreigners that fit the criteria to relocate in Penang for ten years. However, similar to other industrial cities around the world, the manufacturing projects dropped down after its peak in 2008 due to the Major Multinational Corporations in Penang that have not established strong linkages with the domestic economy (Kraras et al., 2010), and like the global trend, these multinational companies then moved to other locations that offer lower costs of manufacturing. The impact that happened to George Town after the period of industrialisation is that there are many run-down buildings.

The nomination of George Town and Malacca as the UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2008 came at a time when many projects to restore the city as a liveable place were already addressing the material, cultural, economic, and social conditions that attract talent and the required skilled workers. For George Town, it is the city's cultural diversity that was the critical component to secure the award as it is a multicultural society that has an original urban morphology, such as

two-storey shophouse buildings. There are many projects concerning George Town urban development that sprang during that period from different actors. The state and federal government allotted an RM20 million to Khazanah Nasional to do conservation works of the heritage site in Malacca and George Town. 'Think City' was formed by the Khazanah Nasional to implement the George Town Grants Programme that was started in early 2010.

Through the Grants Programmes, Think City granted property owners who wanted to renovate their heritage buildings in the first phase to help to gain trust with various stakeholders. In the second phase, when locals could see the physical transformation in the city, Think City started to fund more community-oriented and intangible heritage initiatives. Also, in their third phase, they focused on shared spaces and projects that would bring people together. Despite the success that Think City claims, a paper on strategies for urban conservation by Malaysian scholars argues that "while there is strong support from the government and public interest groups, there is still no groundswell of support from the public in general to protect George Town's urban heritage" (Lee et al., 2008, p.293). They argue that the indirect conservation by the government works well for the inner city of George Town as the Penang Island local government promoted development at the outskirts of the city centre to create more development in the previously underdeveloped areas (Lee et al., 2008). Fisher (2005) states that the move out of people to a new location can create high vacancy rates in the city centre and this would lead to the decline of the city centre. Lee et al. (2008) argue, however, that this works out perfectly for George Town in terms of buildings conservation. Nevertheless, this thesis argues that although old buildings and shophouses are preserved, the cultural fabric of the inner-city George Town has changed. Ley's (2003) study argues on the movement of districts from a position of high cultural capital and low economic capital to a position of steadily rising economic capital, which is similar to the case of rich cultural capital of the inner city George Town, by

basing his argument on Bourdieu's theoretical work on the field of cultural production. According to Ley (2003), Bourdieu's (1993) work suggests the problem beyond only the displacement of class. "It problematises the positionality of these cohorts in terms of their possession of different (and in some respects oppositional) forms of capital, despite their common membership in the dominant class" (Ley, 2003, p.2541). In George Town, key actors, gentrifiers and facilitators are gaining more and more capitals, while those outside their circle have less. By looking at the first criterion, the transformations of the built environment and urban form, it can be seen that there is a destruction of traditional working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city in order to make way for the redevelopment. George Town's case is mainly for tourism, which will be the next point of discussion. Moreover, this process also retreats from community-oriented planning initiatives.

Furthermore, the issue of tourism development in George Town has been researched widely. The case of the rehabilitation and revitalisation of the Lebuh Acheen-Lebuh Armenian district will be the case in point as the area consists of many historic buildings. According to Kahn (1997, p.103), "It is planned that visitors to this cultural enclave will do more than gaze at buildings. An important feature of the plans is that the area will become a precinct in which tourists will interact more closely with, even directly consume, the objects of their gaze", and that "Tourists will be encouraged to spend their money in proposed handicraft shops, restaurants, and hotels" to make heritage development an integral part of Penang's 'tourism product'.

The study on the stakeholders' perceptions of George Town as a World Heritage Site shows that the majority of the respondents are aware of George Town's status and think that such status would have a positive impact on local businesses, the conservation and restoration of heritage buildings, and the general well-being of George Town residents; however, many also think that tourism activities could harm

George Town's heritage site at the same time (Omar et al., 2013). Moreover, the study suggests that there is no planning collaboration between the stakeholders and policymakers, which, according to the democracy issue in the Chiang Mai part, is an important process in adopting the policy. Using the second criterion, the regeneration project in the Lebuh Acheen-Lebuh Armanian district suggests the process of gentrification that comes with a sugar-coated regeneration. Thus, it can be concluded that the work of neoliberalism has been penetrating through George Town's urban fabric.

8.4.4 Neoliberalism in George Town

What happened in George Town has resulted in neoliberal consequences – social reproduction and disintegrating developments. The sociologist Christopher Doob (2015) explains that social reproduction refers to “the emphasis on the structures and activities that transmit social inequality from one generation to the next”. The upper class has many advantages and will continue to receive them after the process of social reproduction – in this case, through the process of gentrification. Pierre Bourdieu (2018) states that four types of capital contribute to social reproduction in society. They are financial capital, cultural capital, human capital, and social capital. These are all linked together to create a cycle of social inequality that will be passed on across generations (ibid). Bourdieu (2018, p. 257) argues that “The specific role of the sociology of education is assumed once it has established itself as the science of the relations between cultural reproduction and social reproduction. This occurs when it endeavours to determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes”. Smith (2002) argues that the process of gentrification that has been generalised as an urban strategy has played a role in the social reproduction of cities. Moreover, it has been argued that urban

regeneration helps create social balance by bringing back the people to the area; however, Smith (2002) argues that this process only brings back certain classes or groups of people. Social and economic restructuring is, at the same time, the restructuring of spatial scale, “insofar as the fixation of scales crystallises the contours of social power – who is empowered and who contained, who wins and who loses – into remade physical landscape” (Brenner, 1998; Smith and Dennis, 1987; Swyngedouw, 1996, 1997, cited in Smith, 2002, p.435).

In George Town’s case, the urban regeneration in the inner city is good evidence suggesting the social reproduction of the area. With the development in the suburban area, many people move to the newly developed area, leaving their old homes in the inner city. The inner-city area has been turned to a place mainly aiming at tourists. Thus, the cultural fabric of the area is gone. Kahn (1997) argues that both governmental and non-governmental groups have played a part in influencing George Town’s urban scene. Apart from the George Town Grants Programmes from Think City, George Town Festival by the collaboration of the state government, Penang Global Tourism, and George Town World Heritage Incorporated is also significant to the cultural fabric of George Town’s inner city. The inner city, which was the area of the indigenous working-class Penangites, has been reproduced to share, mostly, the arts and culture of the middle and upper classes. This is, therefore, how the social reproduction in George Town happened through the process of urban regeneration, gentrification, and the use of entrepreneurial discourses, like the Creative City.

The second consequence is the disintegrating developments of the city that ultimately leads to the loss of social diversity and the trap of capitalism in George Town. In George Town, the nomination of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites status has started many development schemes in the city. To gain and maintain the status, the state and federal governments have tried to develop the city according to the

three Outstanding Universal Values criteria that George Town falls under – (i) “an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape” which illustrates a significant stage in human history, (ii) the “exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living”, and 3) the site exhibits “an important interchange of human values over a span of time” (Think City, 2013). For the George Town built townscape to be sustainably conserved and maintained, the government looks at the economic strategy to ensure that the buildings are optimally used and economically viable. They also plan to regenerate communities by improving livability and to build expertise and capacity for architectural conservation. In doing so, the process of gentrification is inevitable. As a multicultural society, it is argued that due to many regeneration projects, the Malaysian culture has been represented more than other cultures, and this has to do with the more profound local political and cultural circumstances of the people in power (Kahn, 1997). This results in the loss of social diversity for it is not only the diversity of class, but it is also the diversity of race.

In addition, the disintegrating developments also lure the Penangites to fall into the trap of capitalism. This happens when tourism is the priority in the development of the city. In the case of George Town, the whole inner-city is planned to be regenerated as a tourist destination and only be tourism products (Kahn, 1997). The example that has already been given is the Acheen and Armenian Streets. The George Town Action Plan that started in 2013 has been done in order to regenerate the waterfront area, Chew Jetty, by giving the reason that this is done to return the waterfront to the people; however, the real target group seems to be tourists. The jetty is converted to shops for tourists. The way of life of the people in the area is changed. Many of the people work just to serve the purpose of tourism and trapped in capitalism and neoliberal ideology.

To conclude, the use of the Creative City discourse in Penang and other forms of urban projects have influenced the work of neoliberalism in the city as analysed by the two criteria: transformations of the built environment and urban form and the hidden gentrification process in urban regeneration projects. This has resulted in the issues of social reproduction and disintegrating development in the city.

Conclusion

The critical analysis of the four cases proves that the Creative City discourse has played a crucial role in the emergence of neoliberalism in Southeast Asian cities. Despite the economic benefits that the Creative City discourse seems to offer to the four case studies, under the work of neoliberalism, the impact on the social level emerges. Different issues, participation in Chiang Mai, representation in Bandung, policy process in Cebu, and social diversity in George Town, echo the problem of democratisation processes in these cities. This responds to the main research question of this thesis that the Creative City approach is a Trojan horse of the Western neoliberalism in the Southeast Asian cities.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to achieve a deeper understanding of the appropriation and adaptation of the Creative City policy notion in Southeast Asia. It has adopted the common scholarly stance with regard a critical scepticism of the Creative City as a cultural policy idea and examined the commonly held assumption that the Creative City is a veritable 'Trojan horse' of neoliberalism. A central research aim has been to uncover the complexity in the uses of Creative City in Asia, both the validity and problematic nature of 'neoliberalism' as a charge, and an empirical explanation on the Creative City approaches of four key ASEAN cities — Chiang Mai, Bandung, Cebu, and George Town.

This research has addressed the original research questions as Chapter Two and Three largely serve to respond to the first research question: What is the Creative City discourse, and how has it contributed to policy development for the ASEAN region? The influence of the Creative City discourse in urban policy development requires far more longitudinal research, not possible in the scope of this thesis project. Chapter Four to Eight explores the second and third research questions: How has the Creative City construct been adopted by ASEAN cities, and adapted to Asian urban realities, and Is the Creative City discourse within ASEAN a Trojan horse of neoliberalism? The use of historical, empirical, document and interview research material allow us to explore the complex urban realities of four case study cities – how they adopted the Creative City discourse and what policy, organisation and institutional apparatus has emerged to facilitate urban cultural policy intervention. The final part of each case study chapter takes Brenner and Theodore's template of 'neoliberal localisation' as a critical framework for reflectively assessing the veracity of the central argument: that the Creative City is (and has become, since Charles Landry's seminal iteration) a neoliberal 'Trojan horse'. Chapter Eight, 'Analysis,' offers a

critical interrogation of these findings. It asserts that the findings demonstrate a radical distinction between economic growth and economic development, where the lack of actual 'development' takes the form of a reversal of the processes of democratisation assumed by Landry as the conditions of a Creative City emerging.

When research for this thesis first begun in 2015, ASEAN cities had only been using the Creative City designation for five years or less (and the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network had only emerged one year before, in 2014). Consequently, the amount of documentary material available to the researcher was minimal and the linguistic barriers were significant (many cities and ASEAN governments either retain their policy documents for the sake of confidentiality, or only distribute in their native language). The Creative City notion was nonetheless welcomed across the ASEAN region, and this provided the initial motivation for this research project. The rise of an urban cultural policy trend was also significant given how urbanisation has itself become a major industrial (as well as social) policy and a policy with potentially substantial social implications. The phenomenon of policy transfer from the West to East seemed to promise deep complexities in translation and interpretation, and yet this was not the case. As many scholars have subsequently pointed out (Mould (2015), Peck (2005), Pratt (2009)), the transfer and 'fast' policy phenomenon tends to replication rather than complex processes of translation and application, and the process of adaptation tends to use readily available models of 'best practice' or tried-and-tested strategy approaches: in this sense the argument that Western policy trends like the Creative City can be identified quite unproblematically as a Trojan horse of neoliberalism seems self-evident. This thesis, however, has served to show that 'neoliberalism' is not so much an imported or singular economic model (system or value-structure) but a more complex socio-economic orientation in which culture can provide an easy and effective facilitation.

This thesis began with the ideas of the most three influential thinkers of the Creative City policy notion — Charles Landry, Richard Florida, and John Howkins. This was not to propose that these writers together provided a cohesive systematic policy framework, but quite the opposite and that the influence of these three writers was not causal and determined but intellectually more complex. As discussed in Chapter Two, only eight years after the first publication of *The Creative City: A toolkit for Urban Innovators*, Landry realised that the Creative City idea had become contested and diverse in its application. Taken up by UNESCO, the British Council, a range of international development agencies, many independent consultants, and directly implicated in UNCTAD's new Creative Economy development framework (2008-2013), the notion of a 'creative' city was becoming increasingly challenging to disentangle from governmental interests and non-cultural policy agendas. Howkins (2007) reminded his readers that "Success in the creative economy will come to the organisations that recognise and reconcile the personal, the spiritual, and the economic" as he gives an example of India that the country is full of potential for the creative economy; however, can India combine the entrepreneurial skills and connect to its unique religion, spiritual and artistic strengths?

As this thesis serves to exemplify, the policy trajectory of the Creative City in Asia is not a penetration deeper into the historical-philosophical complexities of 'creativity' or aesthetic production per se. It is more simply an increasing adaptation of cultural policies for arts and creative industries for economic development. This thesis, therefore, identifies the various 'social' processes activated by the Creative City policies — between the cultural and the economic — as the significance of the Creative City phenomenon in Southeast Asia. Its significance is that despite the genuinely impressive creative and cultural production, organisations and institutions that have evidently emerged as a result of the Creative City discourse, the social processes visible within a short time of Creative City urban intervention are symbolic of

neoliberal realities. While the thesis does not subscribe to a wholesale critical dismissal of the Creative City as neoliberal, using Brenner and Theodore's criteria of neoliberal urban impact, its analysis reveals that the processes of neoliberal 'creation and destruction' reveal a vital logic central to the 'development' that ASEAN represents as economic prosperity. Rather, the project of economic growth that is evidently taking place in ASEAN creative cities is not to be mistaken for 'development'. For development, as the ASEAN Charter and the Creative City discourse proposes, is fundamentally an engagement with the conditions of autonomy, self-determination, public culture and civil society. In other words, it is indicative of a process of democratisation. However, the logic of economic growth witnessed within the four key ASEAN creative cities mitigate against actual autonomy, self-determination, public culture and civil society — against (Chapter Eight: *the analysis*) participation, representation, policy deliberation and social inclusion.

Fifteen years after *The Rise of the Creative Class* (where Richard Florida (2002) argued that the Creative Class is the new golden key to urban economic growth) he admitted that this optimism did not anticipate the complexities of the emerging economic forces it was ostensibly celebrating. His 2017 book *The New Urban Crisis* is at pains to identify the dilemmas that have emerged since 2002 and how new models of inclusive urbanism are required. He further claims that, in return, the 'back-to-the-city' movement, that he once championed, only benefits small groups of people and places, and this is supported by his research on wage inequality in diverse and creative cities like New York, San Francisco, and Austin (Florida, 2017, p.xxii-xxiii).

Despite increased creativity for Florida (2017), five dimensions of a new 'urban crisis' have emerged (and on a global scale): (1) a winner-take-all urbanism generates economic inequalities and gaps between 'superstar' cities and smaller cities; (2) house prices, levels of inequality and 'plutocratisation'; (3) growing inequality in both cities

and between cities and suburbs; (4) poverty, insecurity, and crime in suburbs; and (5) a crisis of urbanisation in the developing world. Florida's diagnosis, while credible, is surprisingly anachronistic given how all of these characteristics were already visible in the cities that Florida was celebrating in 2002 – and that decades of urban development, planning and regeneration had already employed culture and cultural facilities as a means of economic growth. Moreover, in 2002 when Florida was an economist, he would surely have known that inequality, social alienation, lack of participation, and so on, were all internal to the free market economic model that he assumed to be a *fait accompli* in the new millennium (post-2000) America. It is here that the concept of neoliberalism is useful – as it allows us to understand the processes by which material conditions of social life are established by economic growth and seeming material prosperity. It allows for social-human relations to be defined as competition, for citizens to be situated and motivated as consumers, and all communal or public goods to simply be the means of acquiring a greater density of private wealth. Florida's *New Urban Crisis* is a result of something much more profound than urban policies that are blind to their longer-term social impacts. It is symptomatic of a lack of real development, where the social, civic and place-based qualities and potential of a given city are enfranchised and involved in the forces of growth and wealth-generation.

However, as the research findings of the four case study cities demonstrate, the Creative City inhibits citizen participation as in the case of Chiang Mai, it stimulates a problem of re-representation of the city in Bandung, it results in a divisive top-down interlocal policy transfer in Cebu and generates gentrification and inequality in George Town. While this is a simplification of the conclusions, these cases demonstrate that the 'fast-policy' trend of the Creative City in ASEAN has eluded the real work of forging the conditions of urban creativity and done so by the very political agencies and infrastructural apparatus set up to produce the creative city itself. For example, some

generate powerful elites, raise high barriers to participation, form circles of privilege and uneven industrial specialisation all too detached from the real industrial development needs of a city.

This thesis could be the basis for further research, firstly, in terms of the case studies of the four cities, which only assesses the first stages of Creative City adaptation and implementation. A longitudinal and more rigorous empirical assessment could be conducted in a few years from now. Furthermore, the framework of critical assessment used in the case studies (of neoliberalism) could be revised and deployed more reflexively in relation to artists perspective, local citizens perceptions and satisfaction, and the evolution of creative labour and workers in the city (from the expansion of education and training, to employment and career development). This thesis emphasised policy as the fulcrum of ideas, strategic problem-solving, public intervention and change, political ideology and social cohesion. Rather, it might be that policy becomes less significant than organisational or institutional development, or civil society action, particularly as increasingly supported by the UN agencies for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Lastly, there has been little scope for developing new or experimental methodologies for urban cultural policy studies, and in relation to a city that claims to be 'creative', this should be important. This could also be brought to bear on ASEAN and regional-level projects, for example, the ASEAN Creative Cities Forum and the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network evolution and future potential for action.

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